



EDITED BY J. K. CHOUDHURI, M. A.

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EDITOR'S NOTICE.

The "Landholders' Journal" is, as its title indicates, the accredited organ of the landholding community of India. It has come into existence to promote the interests—political, social and economic, of the landholding classes, and must necessarily depend for its success on the active co-operation and assistance of the community which it serves.

The policy of the Journal is progressive and dictated by one ideal—progress of the country as a whole along constitutional lines and without impairment of the basic rights of the zemindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants.

The Editor cordially invites articles and contributions on problems of interest to the country in general and to the landholding community in particular, items of personal and district news, reports of political and social events, autobiographical and biographical sketches with photographs of prominent members of the landholding community and photographs of general topical interest.



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Vol. IV. {

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} No. I

The Task before Zemindars

ARTICULATE India is eagerly awaiting the report of Delimitation Committee which will give the final touch to the scheme of Indian constitutional reforms. The success or otherwise of the Government of India Act will depend to a considerable extent, on the proportion of representation which urban and rural India will be allowed in the reformed Councils, provincial as well as central. If the countryside is denied its due share of representation on the strength of the population and area basis, the future centres of political life and all that it means will be the towns, and villages will be relegated more and more to the background. As India lives not in towns but in villages she will not accept such a situation with equanimity.

The report of the Committee is not yet out, but a section of our public men has already raised a cry against what they think they have discerned of an undue importance going to be attached to rural representation in the forthcoming report. If their apprehensions prove to be true, there need be no nervousness about them. It would be not only unjust but impolitic and unwise from higher interests of the country to deny rural areas their due share of representation. Our politicians and statesmen should not fail to take into account the consequences which are bound to follow sooner or later from such a denial. Does it require any extraordinary foresight to realise that under such circumstances, a spirit of antagonism and bitterness of feelings between village people and townfolk will be engendered to the greatest detriment of the country's interests? Does not the question of India's political regeneration resolve itself into the political awakening and training of the millions in her countryside? If so, why this nervousness and anxiety at the least prospect of the fulfilment of the only condition of India's political advancement? After all, why this disinclination to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's? We

confess our sheer inability to comprehend the reasons that may lie behind this sudden stiffening of attitude.

For ourselves we would welcome increased participation by our rural population in the political life of the country through their due representation in the country's legislature. It will ensure not only a brighter political future for the country but its economic and social regeneration to which we are all looking forward.

India is mainly an agricultural country and so far as we can look ahead Agriculture will remain her basic and dominant industry. Economic prosperity of India can have no meaning apart from the improvement of her agriculture. What is essential for this purpose is a more intelligent and better informed peasantry equipped with the knowledge of modern methods of scientific agriculture, of co-operation and principles of hygienic living. Apart from the use to which the political vote may be put in improving their political and economic position, the exercise of the same by our masses will better fit them for the discharge of all their specific functions in life. The interest that will be roused in matters civic and political and the information that would be placed at their disposal in the conduct of elections will not spend themselves up but will inevitably lead to agricultural and other improvements.

Apart from this aspect of the question we specially welcome an increased and effective representation of rural areas in as much as it would undoubtedly provide the landholding community with an opportunity of rendering a good account of themselves. If, fortuitously or otherwise, the political centre is shifted to the countryside, heavy responsibility will devolve upon the community to train the masses to an intelligent exercise of their votes as well as to accept their leadership in matters vitally affecting them.

In order to be able to shoulder this responsibility as becoming of them as natural leaders of the country the members of the landholding community must lose no time in setting up a well considered programme work. The first item in that programme should be the formation of a strong organisation of landholders on an all-India basis, to which provincial organisations should be affiliated, for the purpose of formulating common lines of action which may be followed by the landholders of India, the local associations being left to deal with matters of an exclusively local character. An All-India Federation of Landholders founded on the active support of the landholders of all the provinces will not only contribute to the proper comprehension of the various issues confronting the community but would add to the dignity and effectiveness of its voice in the economic and political counsels of the country.

What is needed is an early meeting of prominent landholders all over the country in a conference at a central place to chalk out a programme embodying the highest common measure of agreement and give a lead to provincial associations. We would invite the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who occupies a pre-eminent position among the landholders of India, to this stupendous task of organisation and consolidation. It was the House of Darbhanga that first conceived the necessity of a central organisation of landholders and it was their foresight that brought into existence the All-India Landholders' Association with which we are now familiar. We only request the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga to reorganise the same to a position from which it can serve as a true basis for an All-India Federation of Landholders as a regularly constituted body with permanent offices and head-quarters.

We also appeal to landholders all over the country to extend help and co-operation for the consummation of this project.



Indian Emigration

BY POLITICUS.

WHILE the Abyssinian war and the political developments are holding the stage, an event of the greatest significance, has passed almost unnoticed in India. On the 28th of September, the first Indian Colonial Conference took place in Madras, with Mr. V. M. Ramswamy Mudaliyar who recently represented India at the International Labour Conference, in the chair. It should strike everybody as rather strange that though Indians have been seeing their overseas brethren robbed of their fundamental rights and scandalously treated everywhere from the beginning of this fateful century, they have thought fit to have a colonial conference only to-day more than 30 years later. It is true the Indians overseas form a very small percentage of the Indian people ; it is also true that the efforts that we have made have been futile ; but none-the-less it is difficult not to feel that the problem has been unduly neglected. For the problem of Indians overseas is not so much the problem of Indian colonists that are there but of the Indian colonists that are to be. It is not so much the question of securing facilities for the Indian colonists in Kenya or South Africa, as the question of finding an adequate outlet in foreign lands which will somewhat relieve the grinding pressure of population in India. An outlet for the surplus population of India is to-day an essential necessity, to relieve the strain on her limited resources. A suitable outlet to relieve the pressure of population in India is almost a *sine qua non* of an improvement in her standard of living and economic betterment.

That there is land enough in the British Empire to easily absorb any surplus population that India might possibly send overseas, admits of no dispute. With the exception of the British Isles, India, and Egypt, almost all the territories in the British Empire are sparsely populated. Canada, with an area greater than India's has population less than 50% of that of the Punjab ; Australia, about half of it, and South Africa, slightly greater than that of Calcutta. The other British possessions in Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, etc., are all very thinly inhabited. But these British Dominions, colonies, and possessions, are either closed to Indian settlers, or ringed with political, social and economic fetters for them. The Gandhi movement in South Africa, the representation of generous Indians Viceroy's, the expressions of Indian public opinion have all been unavailing in removing the ban, complete or partial against Indians. In fact, as the President said in the Colonial Conference, things are growing worse. In several countries to which Indians have migrated, he said, inroads have been made into their rights and privileges. In the same strain, Sir S. Raja Ali, Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, spoke in a public speech in Maritzburg, in mid-September. In spite of the Capetown Agreement of 1927, "nothing has been done to remove trading and political disabilities of the Indians" As if, to add point to these remarks, bye-laws have been passed recently in Natal restricting Indian hawkers, forbidding Indians to sell in Saturday markets, and prohibiting Indian draughtsmen from drawing up plans for Indian homes.

Hitherto Burma at least was open to the Indians, but, with the advent of the new constitution, Burma will no longer welcome them. Ceylon also, who might have been expected not to harbour any hostile feelings against her neighbour, has by some recently enacted Land Development Bill, deprived 400,000 Indians of political and municipal privileges.

It would be more than useless to pin our faith on Britain in this dire extremity. England has not done anything to relieve the lot of the Indians in her possessions, and probably, even if she tried, she could not. For let

it not be forgotten that it is not Westminster or Whitehall, who are behind this anti-Indian legislation in the British Empire but the "white settlers", who are determined not to live with the Asiatics and in this they are backed by British die-hards and U. S. A. England cannot, if she tried, compel these "white settlers" to lift their ban against Indian immigration. That would mean civil war and possible dissolution of the Empire, as seemed to threaten over the Ulster issue.

So it is time enough for Indians, instead of venting idle grievances and lodging futile protests with the British authorities in India and England, to look round the world for possible outlets for India's surplus population. There are other lands and other countries, beyond the British Empire which are thinly populated and would welcome the Indians. There are the French possessions in the East, all sparsely inhabited, all under a highly civilized Government, quite friendly to Britain, which are worth considering, as possible lands for Indian emigration. French Indo-China, though sandwiched between the three most heavily populated territories of the world, China, India and Java, is itself very thinly populated. The staple agricultural product is rice, and the climate will also not be foreign to Indians. The French are the only nation in the world, who are not a slave to the colour prejudice, which is acute against the Indians throughout the British Empire. The French, who are short of man power, will gladly welcome the Indians, who are good fighting stuff, whom they have seen during the War. It is high time that Indians turn their eyes from the lands where they are only kicked and battered to others which will be glad to welcome them.

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Good Intentions

By J. K. C.

THE Government of Bengal during the incumbency of His Excellency Sir John Anderson have been able to earn the gratitude of the people of the province, if not for anything else at least for their "Good intentions." No one, however critical or sceptical he may be about the general policy of the Government, can accuse the latter of insincerity so far as their intentions to do good to the people are concerned. But mere good intentions, unless supplemented by specific actions to give material shape to them, can never serve any useful purpose.

During the last two or three years a number of legislative measures have gone into the Statute Book :—The Primary Education Act, the Bengal Moneylenders' Act, the Cess Amendment Act, the Bengal Development Act. Two other measures of vital importance to the Province which are awaiting discussion in the next or an early session of the Legislature are the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Bill and the proposed reorganisation of the system of primary education in the province as contemplated under the Government resolution recently published on the subject.

We must also refer to the initiative taken by the Government of Sir John Anderson in the adoption of steps to remove certain deficiencies of glaring character from which the Province has been suffering for a long time past. The appointment of a Jute Enquiry Committee, the institution of a Board of Economic Enquiry, the recognition of the gravity of the problem of unemployment among educated classes and the initiation of measures to combat it, the successful personal mediation of His Excellency the Governor in averting an imminent crisis on two different occasions in two different spheres (we refer to the affairs of the Jute Mill Industry in 1933 and of the University of Calcutta in 1934), his fight with the Central Government over the question of the allocation of full jute export duties to Bengal—all these bear testimony to the sincerity of purpose and the boldness of mind that have informed the administration of Bengal for the past four years and which bear unmistakable impress of the individuality of the head of that administration, of his large sympathies, of his far-reaching foresight and of his determination to make Bengal a better and more prosperous province than he found it.

For all these, and perhaps a great deal more, Bengal will have reason for feeling grateful to H. E. Sir John Anderson and his Government. But we shall be failing in our duty if we do not at the same time confess to a sense of overpowering doubt at the ultimate results of all these efforts, sincere and honest as they have been. The results have

so far been extremely disappointing. Expectations had been aroused only to be shattered. Faith had been created only to be succeeded by extreme diffidence.

Laws have been placed on the Statute book without any chance of practical effect being given to them. That has been the fate, for instance, of the Primary Education Act. The Government themselves recognise it in so far as they have felt compelled to come out with a hasty and ill-concieved resolution. In other cases laws have been passed or measures adopted on an incomplete understanding of the nature of the problem, for instance, the Bengal Moneylenders' Act and the Scheme of Unemployment Relief. So far as the Act is concerned an attempt to deal with the problem of usury is doomed to failure without a simultaneous attempt to revitalise and extend the existing credit institutions of the country. Indeed we may go further and point out that the Moneylenders' Act instead of doing good to the agriculturists has proved a curse to them for the simple reason that creditors might wait while debtors cannot and the ways to circumvent the provisions of the law are not difficult to find for the creditors.

The instances which we have given are only typical but not exhaustive. At best we can say in the case of some of the measures that a modest beginning has been made. The administration seems to suffer perpetually from two defects. One is that they can never get out of the "experimental" frame of mind. The other is that the rate of progress is always kept mysteriously too slow to lead to any tangible results in any appreciable period of time. It produces a jarring effect on our sense of appreciation of the services of H. E. Sir John Anderson to Bengal when we realise that an experienced administrator as he is, and in spite of his earnest endeavours, he has failed to speed up the machinery of Government in following up the lead that he has given in several directions.

It is not difficult to find out the factor which is mainly responsible for the ineffectiveness of the beneficent laws and measures inaugurated under His Excellency's Government. Inadequacy of funds has been the cause of the failure of many a noble project.

We fully realise that the present revenues of the Province cannot bear the strain of the financial outlay that will be necessary to give effect to various schemes of reconstruction that have been launched or are about to be launched under Government auspices. But at the same time we realise the imperative and immediate necessity of an all round improvement of the people in the social, educational and economic spheres. Under such circumstances the only solution that we can suggest is the raising of a Development Loan of, say, 25 crores of rupees on the favourable credit which the Government enjoys, to be utilised for the purpose. The interest on this loan may well be paid out of the one and a quarter crores of rupees which represent the province's share of the jute export duty. We believe the public and the Government will find no difficulty in accepting and acting upon our suggestion.

Whither Congress ?

By L. N. SARIN, B. A.

THE Congress politics are fast degenerating into a chaotic mess. The organisation that once prided in its solidarity, unity and strength is now a house divided against itself. Its hold on the popular imagination is apparently on the wane, the populace is soon veering round against its cramping politics. Nationalism has contracted into individualism and several parties with political philosophies of their own have gathered strength. 'My party right or wrong as against my country right or wrong' has become the governing principle of the local leaders who have multiplied with mushroom rapidity. The Congress national psychology has now come down to a lower pedestal, its pristine dignity and glory have disappeared. In place of magnanimous leadership pettiness has come to the fore, and nationalism has been localised to a vanishing point. High ideals, self-sacrifice, and love of the country have been substituted by party squabbles, self-aggrandisement and love of the self. Publicity and limelight rather than real solid work in remote inconspicuous corners of the countryside have become the lodestars of an average Congressite. With the sad ups and downs in the Congress affairs one wonders whether the days of the Congress are numbered or whether the darkest hour is only heralding a brilliant dawn? If future can be judged from the present it appears that unless Congress leadership passes into better hands, hands cast in a nobler mould, hands who consider no sacrifice too great for their country, the political future of the Indian National Congress as the premier political organisation of the country is a very doubtful affair. "Swaraj" once said Mr S. Srinivas Aiyanger, the Congress President, "is not an intellectual but an emotional proposition. We must cherish it in our hearts with unquenchable faith. Neither genial humour nor mordant sarcasm, neither appreciation nor calumny should make our patriotism tepid or qualify the singleness of our purpose. We must therefore become possessed by a passion for Swaraj that is not warped by fallacies and impulses, that will stand for a uniform and rapid corporate advance in serried masses, that will know no obstacles, that will not wax and wane with the seasons."

The task of the Congress is not finished with the acquisition of sane, mellowed and selfless leadership. In fact it begins there. The new reforms are before us. They cannot ignore the Congress and the Congress cannot ignore them.

The co-operation of the National Congress is indispensable for their successful working. The political growth of the country is out of the question if the Congress refuses to co-operate with the Government on progressively creative lines. The acceptance of office by the Congress is necessary not for the creation of political deadlocks and the consequent reimbursement of the forces of the Tory diehards but for national prosperity, for national political education and for the subsequent expansion of the new reforms on a bigger and fuller scale. The Congress grievance that the new reforms are not as full and free as we had expected them to be is quite true, but that they are a distinct improvement upon the present position is equally undeniable. Wisdom consists not in boycotting them but in working them with the resolute determination of exposing their inadequacies and then repairing their shortcomings. "Accept" once advised the great Indian Patriot Mr. Tilak, "what is being given and then strive for more." This is what the political India should do today and work for the elaboration of the Hoare Reforms by constitutional means after giving them a fair trial.



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The Zemindars and Management of their Estates under Permanent Settlement

BY M. N. MAZUMDAR,
Advocate, Calcutta High Court.

SOME eminent writers have exhausted their brain-energy in analysing the position of the zemindars and the zemindari administration. Their discussion is purely academic, being directed to blind administration or blind detraction of the institution. The catchwords flooding out their mighty pen, no doubt, captivate our imagination but do not touch the heart. I do not hold any brief for the zemindars, nor do I support their critics. If the zemindars have fallen on evil days, their critics have erred on the side of facts. I may here venture to state the causes of their present plight and the circumstances that have thickened round to make their position worse.

The position of the zemindars now-a-days is far from being enviable though some of them with their culture and education are seeing to identifying themselves with the people. In spite of their whole-hearted endeavour, their present position verges on the brink of an abrupt declivity. This is due not to the stringent laws restricting their rights, but to the system they themselves have set up for their own destruction. That system is their own *Amlatantra*—a bureau of *Shomarnabis*, *Jamanabis*, *Patranabis*, etc., with the supreme head of a *Naib*, assisted by a *Peshkar* or a second *Naib*. The cost of maintaining this *Amlatantra*, in most cases, is disproportionate to the actual income of their estates. It is a system, so connected with the past traditions of our zemindars that they still regard it as most beneficial to their estates, though history tells us that it brought about the total dismemberment of many estates during the period of double government when the officers of zemindars individually grew rich at the cost of their masters relying upon them. It is curious to observe how the same system works at present.

• There is not a shadow of doubt that "the disposition to withhold every payment, however just, is inherent in the native character, and the slightest pretext is sufficient to develop it". Even a single and isolated act of extortion by an officer of the zemindar may be instrumental to create a desire for non-payment among the tenants. Next, when pressed for payment of legitimate dues, they pay something to the officers so that

they may be relieved for the time being. The officers mostly being local men attend the zemindar's office like Calcutta daily passengers. The tenants seldom come to the office, but conveniently settle matters at the officers' residence. Arrears having thus accumulated, no other course is left to the zemindars than to resort to legal procedure. The officers here again are not slow in seizing this opportunity of advising their masters that this is the easiest method of realising their dues. The zemindars also easily see that it not only brings the rent but the interests too on the entire dues of four years, together with the costs of suits. Increment in the number of rent suits has thus become an unique feature of almost every estate. For the conduct of rent suits, each estate has a good number of retained pleaders, as also law agents in addition. The cost of this circuitous process of realisation from the institution of suits up to the execution of decrees is not negligible. On a proper investigation and careful scrutiny it will appear that the total costs often exceed the actual demand. The officers are deputed to instruct pleaders in every district town. This again is a matter of considerable expense. When the decree is obtained and is about to be executed, the tenants remove their effects to save them from the process of the Court on getting information from the zemindar's office, which is supplied by the very officers and their underlings only for petty rewards from the tenants. Execution of decrees is thus delayed in most cases by two or three years. The zemindars in the hope of getting cost at every interval of fresh execution safely tolerate this state of affairs. In most cases, the landlords fail to get actual possession of lands in execution of decrees, and the tenants remain on the lands as usual without paying anything to the landlord. The officers realise something on a point of threat and appropriate it to themselves. They suppress from the landlords how long the lands remain in such condition ; and before 12 years elapse, an ejectment suit is instituted against the tenant with little or no result. When the occasion for payment of revenue comes, officers are sent out to villages for collection, and the officers come back as usual with the amount just sufficient to meet the revenue demand and hand-to-mouth needs of the zemindars. In some cases, the officers keep away the money collected without entering it in the account book. Regular rent-receipts are not given to the tenants so that the amount actually collected may not be ascertained from the accounts rendered. This practice is more prevalent in *Dihli* officers where the officers keep a separate book for accounting with the tenants. The balance in the ledger book (*Shomar*) is shown far less than what it actually ought to be. The chief officer of the estate with all his shrewdness and intelligence combines with his subordinate officers to form a mutual benefit society. This is how the officers of an estate become more solvent than the proprietors. It seems that the estates of the zemindars exist not for their own benefit nor for the well-being of their tenants, but for the maintenance of a crew of officers to impose upon their masters. Most of the zemindars even though they live in their native homes have so much

reliance on their officers that they think it not worth their dignity to go through the accounts and to verify them with reference to *Talab-baki* papers and *Dakhilas*. Allowing a commutation of 4 as. per rupee seems to them a loss and a confession of weakness. Yet they unhesitatingly spend more on litigation, however useless and unreasonable it may be. This is how the brown bureaucracy works in the zemindari administration. The zemindars cannot, nor dare to, control it and set it on right lines. This style of business has attained a sort of sanctity throughout Bengal, and it is thought to be a sacrilege to touch it; for the zemindars here have their own code of morality, based on dreamful inaction and delightful stagnation which encourage the mischievous propensities of their officers. This is not all. The worst of it is accelerated in a joint estate where the managing co-sharer connives with officers at the continuance of the pernicious system for purposes more easily to be imagined than actually stated. Thus the position of zemindars has been so inextricably entangled in a medley of their own actions and the designs of their own men that the management of their estates requires a thorough change. The position of the landlords in other provinces where permanent settlement does not exist is not so bad as that of the landlords in Bengal where there is no inducement to pay rents voluntarily i. e., except under the force of legal process.

So far I have dealt with the internal administration of the zemindari estates. But a few observations here as to what the zemindars call their vested rights may not be wholly out of place. The management of their estates would not have come to such a position if they had a correct idea of their rights under the Permanent Settlement. Having failed in managing their estates, most of the zemindars are now trying to hand over their properties to the Court of Wards in order to live a life of ease and comfort on monthly allowance. This points to their incompetency to hold the proprietorship of the soil. Yet they are more alive to, and assertive of, their rights than their corresponding duties and responsibilities. Recently, the views expressed by the Landholders' Conference were inspired by an utter lack of common-sense and they simply betrayed their ignorance of the state of affairs under which the Permanent Settlement was made: and it was surely a cry for the moon when they demanded the recognition of what they called their vested rights and interests in the new constitution. They forget that the proprietorship established by the Permanent Settlement was not in recognition of any ancient and inalienable rights of zemindars, but out of an imperative necessity to arrest the progress of ruin when no class of society appeared to be flourishing, except the moneylenders, and both cultivators and landlords were sinking into poverty and wretchedness. The Permanent Settlement was a measure of expediency, justified by the requirements of time. Looking backwards, however, into the history of their so-called rights we find that Todar Mull made settlement of the lower provinces, directly with the cultivators, but there were collecting agents placed in various revenue circles and remunerated for their labour by a

percentage on the collections. The office of the collector was hereditary, for it was obviously convenient to continue the agency in the family which was acquainted with the position of the ryots and the nature of the lands. The collector thus being responsible for the rent was invested with all the powers for realising it. He used to keep a military force. With the gradual enlargement of his functions, he assumed the control of the police and the power of adjudicating the rights. The controversy that centred round the question as to the proprietorship of the land is altogether useless, for the growth of Landlordism in Bengal is enveloped in historical myths. Whatever that may be, it is pretty certain that before the concession of 1793 "the Zemindars, from the highest to the lowest, had been mere tenants at will, liable at any time to be deprived by the State landlord of the estates they occupied". This is the historical basis of the rights of zemindars on which they built their hypothetical claims. The settlement was a recognition of a hereditary office on payment of fixed revenue. Heritability, devolution by right of succession etc. do not prove anything. Same rights exist in the case of under-proprietors who hold under zemindars. Purchase of lands by the State does not show anything, for it was simply an old method of land acquisition on payment of compensation. Though some writers have sought to make a capital out of these customary principles in order to prove the zemindars' proprietorship, we must not forget that these principles which existed perhaps from time beyond history applied equally to all who had any interest in lands, however small it might be. I own that these principles in themselves are not conclusive proof of the absolute ownership of zemindars. The zemindars are proprietors on the same rights and incidents on which their under-proprietors stood. They hold the same position in relation to the State-landlord as their under-proprietors hold in relation to them. If the Permanent Settlement settled anything, it was simply that the land revenue should be a fixed demand.

Truly speaking, the so-called Permanent Settlement was an artificial arrangement for the future solidarity of the Empire ; but, as experience shows, no such artificial arrangement by which one class of men is kept at the top of society can be enduring for all time to come. Though some restrictions on the landlords were imposed, the settlement was sought primarily to determine the relation between the Government and the landlord rather than the landlord and the tenant. "The absence of any clear and defined rules for the protection of the cultivator in his ancient right not to pay more than a limited and moderate rent, and to be kept in possession of his fields as long as he did so, is an unquestionable blot on a system which in other respects was highly beneficial". Though this territorial charter created indefeasible rights and interests in the soil, subsequent laws were directed not to undermine the influence of the landlords but to adjust the relation between the landlord and his tenant by removing the defects and inequalities in the settlement which were not discernible then. It would be a strange misreading of history if legislative provisions placing the tenant in a position of some security were taken as repugnant measures.

A belief that the zemindars are the only favoured class under the Permanent Settlement has given them a false sense of security. It is in the strength of this belief that that they went on, without thinking at all that under the Settlement they were made the connecting link between the State and the tenants and that it was their duty to apply the principles of the Settlement to the tenants also. It is in the strength of this belief that they refused to rectify the abuses in the management of their estates. It is in the strength of this belief that corruptions in the zemindari management are often 'monstered' into excellences even in the present days.

I am constrained to think that the genial and beneficial effect of the Permanent Settlement has been spoiled more by the reluctance of the landlords to act in consonance with the duties and responsibilities enjoined by it than by the legislative enactments for which the Government has been subjected to much clumsy criticism ; more by their ignorance of the privileges conferred by it than by the toleration shown by the Government to the much-despised tenantry, the feeder of the nation and the State ; more by their sanctimonious callousness to the welfare of the ryots than by the statutory intervention to put a check to their spirit of trick and perfidy. Whatever may be their established rights under the Charter of 1793, the Government is not deprived thereby of their duty to safeguard the interests of the other classes of people.

We hear that the Permanent Settlement was a contract between the State and the zemindars from which the State cannot resile. If this theory be a correct one, then it is a matter to think how far the contractual obligations have been fulfilled. If it is shown that the conditions implied in the Settlement were ignored by zemindars, then the fate of this contract can be easily guessed rather than delineated. The Permanent Settlement was mainly directed to avert the impending ruin of the country by fixing the revenue demand in the hope that it would induce the zemindars "to promote cultivation, and to render their ryots comfortable": Whether the hope has been realised or not, it has created a large and opulent class of landholders ; but there being no interference on the part of the Government to control their demands on the ryots, they used the old process, peculiar to the oriental instinct, to convert privileges into power and money for luxury and corruption. The true effect has been that with the Permanent Settlement a remarkable set of insensates has become a permanent feature in the society. Abuse of privileges already conferred is a sufficient warning against granting of further privileges in future. If I am right in my statement, I fail to see why the settlement should be placed beyond the competency of future legislatures to touch upon. We all know what was expedient in the past may appear inexpedient in the future. Whatever might have been the justification of the Settlement in the past it must be considered as a barbarous anachronism in the present age.

Zemindars nowadays claim to be the natural leaders of the country. The cheapest method they adopt in proving this idle pretension is to become a Councillor and thereby to earn an easy fame by delivering one or two speeches in the Council Chamber. The oratorical vociferation in and out of the Council Chamber is no passport to natural leadership unless they are in a position to show that they are the trustees of their tenants and the trust is not imperiously neglected. There is no use to urge upon the Government the necessity of special privileges in their favour unless it is shown they are able to uphold them to their own credit and and to the good of their tenants. My experience is that they behave contrariwise. No doubt, the zemindars have their associations in almost all districts ; but what constructive work has been done by these associations is yet to be measured. Have they been directed to ameliorate the conditions of the ryots and to fructify the fiscal policy embodied in the Regulations of 1793 ? Sir J. Shore, with a more correct appreciation of the character of the zemindars, rightly anticipated the inevitable result that they would never adopt new principles of action because their tenures were made permanent. The unremitted contrivances which made the whole zemindary system "a conflict of extortion on their part and resistance on the part of the ryot" in the past remain unchecked as usual and are still practised not only to squeeze out the tenants but also to recoil upon their follies and faults with a threatening force. If they had appreciated their position under the charter, they would not have allowed themselves to stand at the mercy of their own officers whose sole object is to mystify them, in order the more effectively to plunder them from behind. The same clandestine clique that surreptitiously engineered the ruin of the Nawab of Murshidabad is pretty well at work in the administration of zemindary estates.

The confederacy against the zemindars, as I have tried to show, is perhaps, one of the most formidable causes of their misfortune, for it has been directed to alienate the tenants from their sides. If the zemindars are not in a position to control or crush it, the very end of their existence is perilously near, for, we think the pillared rottenness, however plastered and white-washed, cannot stand long. The exploitation of the zemindars by their own officers has been possible only for the moral delinquency and intellectual shortsightedness under which they suffer so miserably.

I have no quarrel with the zamindars. I have shown how they have failed signally in the management of their affairs, as also how they have failed to justify their existence as a class in the social hierarchy by their own disregard of the salutary privileges set forth for their benefit. If the Permanent Settlement is in jeopardy, the fault is their own.

Now the methods by which they can mend their own roof are too many to mention. It is clear from what I have tried to bring home to them how they can rise above the difficulties they suffer. Most zemindary estates are supervised by special officers, superintendents. In spite of their

supervising capacity, the estates are running on to the verge of precipice. Is it because of their supervising capacity or their sagacity to run along with the nefarious peculation of the collecting officers working under them? The zemindars should have some itinerant officers under their *Khas* control deputed to gather information as to the conduct of their officers with the tenants, the secret transactions between them, and the actual produce of soil. They should be responsible only to their masters, and not to any departments of the estates. The most effective method of controlling mismanagement and restraining the officers is the annual inspection of accounts and bringing them to book if there be any wrong in the papers. The officers should not be engaged on a fixed salary. Except the chief officer, they should be remunerated on commission basis or part pay and part commission basis i. e., a certain percentage on collections of rent. Of course, this system should be made applicable to those only who are charged with the duties of collection. The zemindars should also make it a point to visit their *mahals* occasionally not to secure any *nazar*, but to be acquainted with the tenants. Other measures that may be adopted in order to run the estates in a more practical and thorough-going manner need not be discussed in details. One, however, is most important. It is trite saying that at present the tenants are made to pay rents on jute basis whereas formerly the assessment of rent was on paddy basis. In many *pergannahs*, the assessment was made on the price of jute which at the time of assessment varied from Rs. 12 to Rs. 25. Of course, the tenants are no less responsible for the high rate of assessment, for the tenants not being willing to part with their lands when the same came in the hands of landlords, fresh settlement was made on competition with the highest bidder at a high premium. The same case happened when the strangers sought to displace the original tenants and in this way the rate of assessment became so high. The tenant who took the settlement counted upon the price of jute as he was ignorant that his paying capacity would depend wholly on the value of the marketable commodities, while the landlord who made the settlement counted upon nothing but immediate gain though it appeared temporary. So it seems that over-expectation on the part of the tenants and over-greediness on the part of the landlords, running side by side without any idea of the fundamental economic principles was responsible for the present deadlock. My suggestion at this juncture would be that the Landlords' Association of each district should hold an enquiry where this sort of high assessment was made and, if possible, should endeavour to devise remedies according to the circumstances of each case. A much-vaunted cry is heard here and there that the zemindars want to live among their tenants. It is high time that they should come forward to make up for the ignorance of the ryots whom they have exploited and the injustice which they themselves have perpetrated for gain, not by being damnably sentimental, but by being, to some extent, helpful and practical in the exigencies of the situation. I am sure that if this humble suggestion is followed, it will make the system workable in the present state of embarrassing uncertainty.

The rules of business followed in the management of zemindari are responsible for the strange anomalies complained of ; and it behoves the zemindars individually to formulate an well-ordered scheme for the better management of their estates in the light of suggestions made herein. Mere propaganda in the press and on the platform cannot do any good. Something must be evolved from within so that the tenants may feel and appreciate that the zemindars exist for them and they exist for the zemindars, if the institution under which they both live is to be kept up on a solid basis. What I have said here as to the position of the zemindars must not be taken to exclude the other classes of landlords between the zemindar and the cultivator in many and various degrees.

I may here remind the zemindars that there is another disruptive force threatening their existence which should not be ignored. The unsettling influence of what I may call a pseudo-communism is abroad. It is a matter of common knowledge that throughout the world a very keen struggle is going on between the aristocrats and the proletariat. The one is trying to ride over the other. Our country is not altogether free from the baneful effect of this movement. The zemindars and other capitalists are looked upon as the professed enemies of our national aspirations. The feeling against them has created a condition hardly distinguishable from what may rightly be called a communistic or socialistic democracy against which it is impossible for them to stand even with the help of Olympian gods behind them, if they remain unmindful of the fact that their officers and legal advisers are all communists in disguise. There are some educated men in every district who in the garb of being well-wishers of the country are sowing the seeds of discontent quite in a business-like manner for the purpose of self-aggrandisement. They find a field for their action in the growth of ill feelings between the landlords and the tenants. If, however, the zemindars want to hold their position as in old days, they must beware of these dangerous and treacherous patriots whom it requires an Ithuriel's to unmask. It is only by a careful and judicious control over their agents and officers and by the adoption of the remedial measures as already suggested that they can redeem their lost glory and position, broad-based on the sympathy and goodwill of their tenants. *

* The writer seems to be unduly hard on members of the zemindar community by censuring them all for the failings and misdeeds of some and holding them *principally* responsible for all the ills that are supposed to have flowed from the Permanent Settlement. His appreciation of their position so far as it relates to the safeguarding of their vested interests is, we are afraid, also not correct. He would, again, have done better not to have entered into the vexed question of proprietorship of the soil, which, as he must be aware, is now, more or less, of academic interest. Nevertheless if any injury has resulted from a sense of false prestige being instilled into their minds due to their being declared the proprietors or from their expectation of the natural incidents of proprietorship, it is the Regulations which dubbed them as proprietors that are to blame, and not they. The writer's reference to the "clandestine clique" against zemindars of their own employees is most appropriate and the method suggested by him for dealing with it is worth giving a trial.—Ed. L. J.

How to Save Smaller Revenue-paying Estates and Tenures from Extinction

BY TARAKGOBINDA CHAUDHURI,
Zemindar of Tantiband, Dt. Pabna.

The law of inheritance both amongst the Hindus and Mahomedans of Bengal serves to break up the bigger estates into smaller ones. This goes on after each succession, and after a few successions no trace of estates, once big and renowned, can be seen. Thus the seeds of disruption lie inherent in each estate, big or small. Besides this inherent defect which stands in the way of keeping the ancient estates in their pristine glory and entirety, there is another equally powerful factor which hastens the disruption of the estates and that is, inefficiency of and disputes and differences amongst the co-sharers.

All the landed properties held jointly with co-sharers are to be partitioned at a time as the law requires (39 C. W. N. 1044.) The plaintiff will have to bear the entire costs of the partition suits in the beginning which are very heavy and not always possible for him to undergo.

This is the main reason why we find that the once solvent, powerful and big estates have now either sunk into oblivion or exist only in name.

When the British Government came into power in this country they saw that such estates were in danger of being wiped out owing to inefficient management and disputes amongst the co-sharers. Landlords are the stakeholders of the country and their extermination is a matter of public concern. They, therefore, very kindly introduced Regulation V. of 1812 first and then Regulation V of 1827. The provisions made therein were comprehensive enough to save all estates, big and small. Subsequently in 1879 Bengal Courts of Wards Act was passed and provision was made for the saving of the bigger estates by taking them under Government management.

The provisions of Reg. V of 1812 and Reg. V of 1827 thereby stood mainly repealed and the little which remained was quite inoperative and the smaller estates were left to their fate to shift for themselves as best as they could.

Some attempt was made long afterwards in 1815, when the B. T. Act was passed, to save the smaller estates by the appointment of Common Managers (*vide* Secs. 93-100 of B. T. Act) Moreover it is the option of the

Government to take charge of an estate under the Court of Wards even it is directed by the District Judge under Sec. 95 of B. T. Act. But as time and experience have proved, those sections of the B. T. Act are only half measures and fall far short of the real remedy and they have failed to bring such relief as desired either by the Government or the small estate holders.

A mere glance at the provisions of the Wards Act and the sections of the B. T. Act will convince every one of the truth of the above observation.

The Wards Act is complete in itself and any average Manager appointed under that Act can easily bring the mismanaged estate under proper control and convert chaos into cosmos if he only follows strictly the rules and procedures as embodied in the Act. Besides that, the following privileges of the Wards estates, namely,

- (a) Unsaleability of the estate for arrears of revenue and cesses,
- (b) Certificate procedure for realising rent,
- (c) Supervision by the Board of Revenue,
- (d) Grant of allowance to the proprietors,

stand as bulwark against the ruin and deterioration of the estates. But if we look to the few sections of the B. T. Act, we find that not only these privileges are wanting but there are no fixed rules and procedures, which are binding upon the Common Manager. No doubt there is rule-making power reserved by Sec. 100 to the Hon'ble High Court, but the few rules made by the Hon'ble High Court simply say that the Common Managers are to follow the directions of the District Judge. The District Judge in his turn generally leaves everything to the Common Managers except those things for which, under the law, they are to take permission from the Judge. In the result, these small estates are administered and managed by the Common Managers according to their own sweet will. These Common Managers practically occupy the same position as the Guardians for infants under the District Judge and the Receivers appointed under the Civil Procedure Code. They are nominally under the control of the Judge but practically supreme, with nothing to check their inefficiency or misdoings or whims. It, therefore, *rarely* happens that these Common Managers return the estates to their owners in a better and improved condition, just as in the case of Guardians and Receivers. Of course, they are under security, but the proprietors are deprived of the right of seeking redress in the Civil Court for the misdoings of the Common Manager as soon as accounts are passed by the District Judge.

Hence the few provisions made in the B. T. Act for saving the small estates in their practical application have proved quite ineffective and these landholders simply fall from frying pan into fire.

But even as the law stands, the estates under the Common Managers can be efficiently administered and managed like the Wards estates if, by the rule-making power of the Hon'ble High Court, a complete set of rules as regards accounts etc., after the model of the Court of Wards for the proper

guidance of the Common Managers be introduced and if the Local Government nominates Common Managers for each District under Sec. 96 B. T. Act (which has practically remained a dead letter) and the management of all such estates are made over to them under healthy checks. The cost of management will also be minimised thereby. The intention of this section seems to protect the petty estates (the gross annual income of which is not more than Rs. 5000) which cannot bear a big establishment charge (sec 98-1 B. T. Act)

One of the main reasons why the present Common Managers cannot successfully manage the properties under them is their failure to collect rents expeditiously. They are to adopt the ordinary dilatory procedure of suing the tenants in the Civil Court and the tenants successfully resist payment for several years.

But if, as suggested, the Local Government nominates or appoints Common Managers on commissions over collections (under sec. 96 B. T. Act), who command the confidence of the Government, the Government can, without any reasonable objection, arm him with power of issuing certificates as under the Wards Act, which will ensure speedy collection of rents, and the estates will automatically occupy far better position than they do now.

A practical illustration of this is seen even now in the case of estates which are now attached by the Government for arrears of cesses.

If the Government be approached with practical suggestions for the betterment of these small estates under the Common Managers, we can reasonably hope that the Government will come to the rescue of these small landholders for whose protection the law was originally intended.



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Village Reconstruction

BY RAI SAHIB LAKSHMI NARAYAN LAL, EX-M.L.A.
Pleader and Chairman, Advisory Committee, C. C. Bank Ltd.
Aurangabad, Gaya.

PASTURE

The welfare of the country depends very much upon the development of agriculture and in India the advancement of agriculture depends entirely upon good and strong bullocks ; but the condition of the cattle of this country is deeply deplorable and the main cause of their deterioration is the want of sufficient pasture lands. And it is the primary duty of every well-wisher of the country to try his best to establish and maintain a suitable pasture in every village. This is one of the most important items of village reconstruction. I would, therefore, give below my humble suggestions for the establishment and maintenance of a suitable pasture. Sec. 8 of the Bihar Tenancy (amendment) Act, 1934, has substituted a new section 23 of Act VIII of 1885 and section 9 of the said amending Act has inserted a new section 23A in the said Act VIII of 1885, the provisions of which are of the greatest help to the tenants in this respect in as much as they can sink wells, construct tanks and plant trees in their *Nakdi* occupancy holdings and enjoy the entire fruits as well as wood, the landlord being entitled to the usual rent only and not to any portion of the fruits or the wood or to any product of the tanks. The income from these sources will be sufficient to compensate the tenants for the payment of the rent for that portion of the land. Therefore under these provisions of the Act, the tenants can now profitably set apart a portion of their occupancy *Nakdi* holdings in a suitable place for pasture and surround it by walls and plant good Biju mango trees at sufficient distance. The enclosure should be divided by walls into at least three parts each having a different entrance. In one of them fodder crops like *Swan*, *Mothi* and *Jinora* should be grown for the cattle, and in the other two, good grasses should be grown and the cattle should be allowed to graze in each of them for a fortnight by turn, the other being closed for sufficient growth of the grass. A well and a small tank should also be constructed in one of the compounds in order to irrigate the trees, the fodder crops and the grasses as well as for watering the cattle. If the lands are *Bhouli*, *Nakdi* settlement can be easily taken from the landlord even at concession rates.

Some money is, no doubt, required for the success of the scheme but the advantages derived therefrom will amply repay the expenditure. The Government has already set apart special funds for village reconstruction

and has made provisions for the supply of drinking water to the people of the rural areas. The supply of drinking water to cattle is by no means less important. The growing of fruit trees is also being encouraged by the Government by holding exhibitions of mangoes and in other ways. Good Biju mango trees will not only supply fruits to the masses for the improvement of their health but will also supply wood which is very essential for village life, being very much needed in marriages, *sradhs* and funeral ceremonies for burning the dead. The trees will also supply abode and shelter to the cattle during the summer and the rains. Arrangements can also be made for collecting the urine of the cattle in ditches near the cowsheds, and some earth, cow-dung and the dry leaves of the mango trees may also be mixed with the urine, the ditches being surrounded by ridges and thatched for protection from the rains. This will supply a very valuable manure. Besides the parts of a mango tree have medicinal properties too many to be mentioned here. Even the juice of the mango leaves mixed with honey is a good medicine for cholera. The Fishery Department is trying its best to promote the rearing of good fishes. The tanks can also be used for rearing the fishes with the help of the fries supplied by the Fishery Department and thus become a source of supply of good fishes to the masses.

This scheme is, therefore, full of different potentialities, besides making sufficient provisions for the establishment and maintenance of suitable pastures with the help of which not only good bullocks but also good milch cows can be maintained which is *sine qua non* for rural uplift and deserves the best sympathy and support of the Government and every other well-wisher of the country. Much can be done by the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments and the District and Local Boards. And having regard to the great potentialities of the scheme, it is fervently hoped that the Government will not fail to extend their helping hand for its success.



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Is Peace Possible ?

BY SIVAPRASAD MÍTRA, M. A.

WHEN the League of Nations was founded fifteen years ago, it was hoped by not a few that at last a war-weary world was going to enter into an era of peace. The Great War seemed to have at last knocked some sense into the nations. The long-cherished illusion about the profits of war and the gains of conquest was for ever dispelled. A modern war on a first class scale showed itself to be so exacting in its demands as to have become a forbidden fruit to all. The heavy drain on the financial resources of the country involved in a modern war, the chaotic disorganisation of its economic life which take decades to right itself, the tremendous loss of able-bodied workers, have all contrived to make war cease to be a paying proposition to any of the belligerents. The victor is no better off than the vanquished, and reparations prove a chimera under modern economic conditions.

All this has been tried to be brought home to the world in a thousand ways by various men. The post-War epoch has been pre-eminently characterised by an organised movement for peace, which has no parallel. Men have, no doubt, sung of the blessings of peace and the evils of war in the past just as they are doing at present; but they have generally been isolated utopians speaking from a religious platform. The world has never before witnessed any such organised effort for peace, made by the common people, and free from any religious movement as we are witnessing at present.

Yet barely a decade and a half has passed since the War, and the League of Nations is proving itself a failure. It has shown itself no more competent than the old system of Balance of Powers to preserve the peace of the world. Where the Balance of Powers has failed, the League has failed also. The balance of power has been destroyed in the Far East by the swift expansion of Japanese Power, and the League has failed to keep Japanese imperialism in check. The balance of power has been undermined in Europe by the Franco-Italian and the Franco-Russian alliances and the League is unable to control Italy.

This failure of the Peace Movement within the very life time of the generation that passed through the furnace of the War is significant. There was no time more favourable for organising the world security for peace than the present, and if in spite of all, the world is to-day heading straight for war, there must be some deep and far-reaching causes.

It is no good laying the blame on isolated individuals, a Hitler here, an Araki there. Isolated individuals can never have the power to mould history so deeply, unless, as Napoleon said, they move with the opinion of great masses and with great events. The man and the hour must strike together to influence the times.

Contrary to our belief, war is not the result of the machinations of Machiavellian individuals and the gullibility of the people, but the outcome of deep, underlying forces, operating in human society. The most important of these, for it is the most pervading as well as the most difficult to eliminate, arises from what is known in biology as the "Struggle for Existence". Among men, as among animals, demand for things far outruns their supply. There might not have been any such scarcity of supply if men have limited their demands to the necessities of life and have been content with a plain living. Unlike the lower animals, man can increase the supply of the goods he desires, and thanks to the Industrial Revolution and the ever-increasing marvels of Science, man's control over production today is immense. It was pointed out long ago by Kropot-Kin, in his great book "Fields, Factories and Workshops" that whatever might have been the case in the past, today it is possible for man to provide himself with all the necessities of a plain and simple life, by working for only four hours a day, if the whole system of production was thoroughly planned and organised on the basis of the most up-to-date inventions, and if the system of distribution was equitable. Science has given us the power to eliminate the "Struggle for Existence" as a vital factor in our lives, if we would only be content with a plain and simple living.

That, however, is not to be. We might preach to others of the joys of "plain living and high thinking" but are not eager to taste them ourselves. We are always after luxuries, and the more we have of them the more we want. Our desires know no bounds, and we march on from more to more. We do not care to consider the price of our luxuries, the price that some others have to pay in misery and starvation. When we look at the labour power of the world, we find a very large part of it employed in the production of useless luxuries for the rich, though the masses are starving. This exploitation is a cardinal fact of human society, and should never be overlooked.

This "Struggle for Existence and Exploitation", which among men has taken the place of the mere "Struggle for Existence", would not have led to war but for the group instinct and the organising capacity of men. While the "Struggle for Existence" is carried on among the lower animals chiefly between individuals, the "Struggle for Existence and Exploitation" among men in the international world is carried on between organised groups, between nations. It is this aspect of this struggle which has made it so ruinous a factor in civilization. In civil society, men are not independent, but are subject to the unlimited authority of the State which forbids them to resort to arms and compels them to carry on this

struggle without bloodshed ; but there is no sovereign authority over states, which are free to carry on the struggle in any form they like. Moreover, within a state the struggle is not only bloodless, but primarily between individuals, though Marxian analysis has shown that there is more of class-struggle in society than is usually imagined.

Now this "Struggle for Existence and Exploitation" alone will lead to war among states, even when all other causes have been removed. It is, of course, too much to say, as some extremists say, that this biological factor has been always at the root of every war ; but without going so far as to say as some scholars maintain that the War of Troy was due to commercial rivalry between the Greeks and the Trojans, it would be safe to assert that this factor has been a widespread cause of war. And, above all, it is one of those factors which seem to be irremovable.

It is a common plea to-day to point to Japan as the danger spot of the world. Japanese ambitions and Japanese imperialism are being denounced in the strongest of terms as constituting the greatest living menace to the peace of the world. But Japan, like pre-War Germany, is simply choking with men, and is finding, like Germany also, every path blocked. She has no great territories abroad to be used either as colonies or as markets, if we live aside the recently and illegally acquired province of Manchuria. But she requires considerable overseas territories, which will either welcome her surplus population as colonists, or help to maintain them by purchasing her goods, otherwise she will be faced by a fall in her already low standard of living.

The same is the case with Italy. Like Japan, she has an overflowing and a rapidly increasing population, with a small territory poor in economic resources. She must, unless she is prepared to face a lowering of her already low standard of living, acquire territories outside to serve her either as colonies or markets. The Italian adventure in Abyssinia is a necessary outcome of this.

And yet there are lands which are simply crying for men. Canada has a population less than that of New York, Australia less than that of London, South Africa, if the whites alone are counted, a little over that of Calcutta, the whole continent of South Africa not many more than the little islands of Japan. But the teeming millions of Japan, or for the matter of that, of the whole of Asia, for the whole continent is choking with men, are not allowed to cast anything more than a "longing lingering look" on those far off lands. And this iniquity is maintained by the armed might of the great Anglo-Saxon Powers, England and America, who are always so eager in the cause of peace, so prominent in the conferences, who are never tired, in season and out of season, to drum upon the ears of a leaderless world, their untiring championship of the cause of Peace, of Equity, of Justice.

The prohibition in the case of Italy or Germany and other White Powers is not, of course, so unequivocal as in the case of Japan. The white peoples are not taboo in Australia or in America, and are allowed to

emigrate. But that is not of any great practical value, because of the quotas and the other restrictions, by which such emigration is limited. Germany before the War could at least send her surplus population to the overseas countries ; by 1880, Germans were emigrating at the rate of about 2,00,000 men every year. But since the War, even this outlet has dried up. The New World and the British Dominions are unwilling to receive foreign immigrants in any large numbers, and the overpopulated countries have now no other peaceful solution but a lowering of their standard of living,

Apart from the restrictions, imposed upon foreign immigrants to-day, emigration is always a loss to the home country. It involves the loss of a large number of healthy, able-bodied workers which a country can ill afford to bear. A country's most important investment constitutes in its citizens whom it has fed and trained up at considerable expense. If they leave for foreign countries in their prime, she loses a valuable part of her man-power both for war and peace, not to mention that they are for ever lost to her culture and her traditions. No country can, therefore, be a willing party to the emigration of her sons and tolerates it except in case of dire necessity.

The present solution of this dilemma lies in war. This land-hunger, for the sake of markets and colonies, has always been a vital cause of war in all ages and in all countries, and has been at the root of many a war. From the rush and the sweep of the Huns and the Goths, at which the Roman Empire in the west and the Gupta Empire in the east, crumpled up, down to Germany's tiger spring at Belgium and France in 1914, some of the most destructive and terrible wars arose from sheer necessity for more room by swiftly expanding peoples.

It is essential in the interests of international peace that some machinery should exist whereby the needs of expanding peoples might be satisfied without recourse to war. But strangely enough, there is no provision for this in current International Law. Law in the international, as in the national sphere, is fundamentally a static concept. Its spirit is order and its aim is the maintenance of the "status quo." But an unchanging order ill befits a changing world ; and international law, whose aim is to maintain that order, that "status quo", cannot but clash with changing world conditions. If International Law and the super-structure of peace, which is expected to be raised on it are to be real, a change in the basic concept of International Law, from Order to Equity, is essential. We have derived our conception of law, like so many other things, from the classical world which always confused the "true" with the "permanent." This complex of the "changeless" has obsessed the human mind all through the ages and is clogging its development even now. We have not yet adjusted our mental world and our social-political institutions to the new concept of "evolution" or "change" that is now recognised as true for the human world at least. A change in the very basis of International Law from 'permanence' to "evolution", from "order" to "equity", is thus imperative, if the dreams of the pacifists are to be realised.

International Law should be directed not to maintain the "status quo", but to adjust rights and institutions to dynamic world conditions.

As a great writer, who is at once a great thinker as well as a great pacifist, has expressed it: "Love of peace has been too much associated with a static conception of international relations. In a world where nations grow and decay, where forces change and populations become cramped, it is not possible or desirable to maintain the 'status quo' for ever. In economic disputes we all know that whatever is vigorous in the wage-earning classes is opposed to 'industrial peace' because the existing distribution of wealth is felt to be unfair. Those who enjoy a privileged position endeavour to bolster up their claims by appealing to the desire for peace, and decrying those who promote strife between classes. It never occurs to them that by opposing changes without considering whether they are just, the capitalists share the responsibility for class war. And in exactly the same way England shares the responsibility for Germany's war. If actual war is ever to cease, there will have to be political methods of achieving the results which can now only be achieved by successful fighting: nations will have voluntarily to admit adverse claims which appear just in the judgment of neutrals." (Russel's Principles of Social Reconstruction.)

It is difficult to deny the truth of Russel's assertions. A periodic redistribution of territories and dominions, of rights and privileges, is a *sine qua non* of peace. But though theoretically necessary, it seems to be practically impossible to achieve. A periodic redistribution of territories would require some new principles as the basis of International Law in the place of the present "status quo." But no such principle can be found.

The first principle that would suggest itself is that of numbers. Let the territories of the world be distributed among the nations, not on the basis of inheritance but on that of needs. A nation with more mouths to feed must have a larger slice of territory than another with a smaller population. This principle of distribution of territory in proportion to numerical strength, territory being interpreted to mean not merely so much area in square miles, but also economic powers of production, like agricultural fertility, mineral resources, commercial advantages like good harbours and so on, is simple to understand and would be simpler to operate, but is incapable of adoption either in theory or in practice. It is neither equitable nor practicable.

The adoption of the principle of numbers will be equivalent to putting a premium on multiplication. The nations which would multiply like the sands of the sea, will inherit the earth. This might have been looked upon as the greatest blessing that Heaven can bestow, in the past, but to-day it stands athwart the path of social improvement. A limitation of births is essential for economic improvement, for female emancipation, for spiritual and cultural advance. An unrestricted multiplication will outrun the improvements of science and of economic technique, and will

inevitably lead to a fall in the standard of living. As the territories will be periodically redistributed in the interests of the growing races, any nation which tried to keep down its birth-rate for the sake of economic well-being will have its territories and resources periodically reduced, to accommodate the needs of its expanding neighbours, and all the results of its low birth-rate will vanish. It would be impossible for any nation to raise its standard of living beyond that of the poorest country in the world. The whole world will be reduced to one drab level of low misery, with every attempt at improvement being nullified. Every nation will be compelled to enter into a race for multiplication for pure self preservation. In the midst of rapidly increasing neighbours, any nation that tried to keep down its birth-rate, will lose its influence and power in the society of nations and will be steadily pushed to the wall ; while the advantages of low birth-rate in the form of higher prosperity and superior culture will exist no longer. The whole world will be running a race for multiplication.

This danger, it is true, might be substantially reduced, and in course of time perhaps eliminated, if the countries with high birth rates would voluntarily reduce them or failing voluntary limitation, compulsory limitation is imposed by the whole society of nations. But such limitation, whether voluntary or compulsory, is extremely difficult to achieve, in fact almost impossible to attain. It would not merely be difficult to fix the rates for different countries, each country trying to make her particular quota as high as possible with the others trying their best to make it as low as can be made ; it would be almost impossible for a country to enforce such limitation within her own borders. To control by legislative action the birth-rate of a people is a task next to impossible. It would require an actual governmental determination of the number of children each individual should have, and that number cannot obviously be the same for all. Some are rich, and so are better able to provide for their issue ; some are poor and are not equally able to maintain their children ; some are better from physical, intellectual and other standpoints to contribute to the country's next generation. A determination of the number of children an individual ought to have, quite apart from its enforcement, would be an impossible task, at this stage of our knowledge of eugenics ; and it is extremely doubtful whether eugenics will ever enable us to organise the breeding of men. Laws of heredity do not tell us anything about the mental and moral qualities of man, on which progress and civilization rest. They may enable us to breed cattle, but will not help us to breed men.

But this is not the only difficulty involved in the principle of numbers or needs. It not only puts a premium on multiplication and thereby jeopardizes civilization and culture ; it stands no chance of practical adoption.

Curiously speaking, the world's leading powers have comparatively small populations, while the major portion of the human race are contained in dependant or semi-dependant countries. England and France, with their 40 millions each, offer a peculiar contrast to China and India with their 400

and 350 millions respectively. In spite of their comparatively insignificant populations they own the two largest empires in the world, while India and China possess not a foot of territory beyond their own borders. If the principle of numbers is adopted as the basis of the allocation of territory between nation and nation, the Chinese and the Indians would claim about ten times more land than the British or the French. England will lose her markets and her dominions, would sink from her proud position as a mighty power. Her position will pass from bad to worse with the passage of time. The ratio between the English and the Chinese populations will not remain the same, but will be continually altering against England. The proportional increase of the Chinese population will always be greater than the proportional increase of the English population. The territorial position between England and China will consequently be continually changing adversely to England. The numerically strong nations will thus steadily come to inherit the earth, while the numerically weaker nations will be gradually pushed to the wall.

A system with such consequences stands no chance of being practically adopted. The great powers, England, France, Russia, Italy, Germany, America and Japan comprise about one-fourth of the world's population but about three-fourths of the world's territory directly, and the whole of it indirectly. For them to adopt such a system as we have been discussing would be tantamount to signing their own death warrant. However ardent champions of peace they might be, we cannot very well expect them to do that. So the principle of numbers, which will be met with the strongest opposition of the leading Powers, stands no chance of being practically adopted.

The only principle which might hope to command the support of the Great Powers, assuming that the great "status quo" Powers, England and France, can be persuaded to accept any principle of peaceful redistribution of territory, is that of quality. The powerful nations will always claim weightage *vis-a-vis* the weaker nations. England will claim as much land as the Indians, Japan will claim as much territory as the Chinese, on the basis of the superior qualities of their peoples. Considered in the abstract, it is difficult not to admit the claim of superior quality to superior weightage. It is sheer folly to make numbers and multiplication the deciding factor in civilization, the be-all and end-all of life. The worth of a nation is not proportional to its numbers, and civilization does not progress by multiplication. The adoption of the principle of quality as modifying the principle of numbers, will be in the interests of equity and justice. It will go far to eliminate the evil effects of the principle of numbers, and prevent multiplication from becoming the deciding factor in the allocation of territory. It will prevent a premium being put on multiplication.

But there is a big gulf between theory and practice, and the principle of quality, although theoretically quite sound and fair, does not lend itself to practical adoption. No one will be found to deny that superior merit must have superior reward, but no two will agree as to what exactly is

superior merit. The doctrine of race-superiority is one of the most disputed of doctrines. To identify a temporary national ascendancy with the possession of superior race qualities would be absurd, but that is being done from the beginning of ages. From the days of the Hellenic excellence to those of the Anglo-Saxon superiority the ruling nation has always ascribed to itself some innately superior virtues, which distinguish it from other nations and entitle it to pre-eminence over them.

Attempts have been made to find a basis for the doctrine of race superiority in eugenics. But eugenics is still in its infancy and has not yet given us any definite conclusions on which any sweeping generalisation might be based. Perhaps the only thing of which we may be sure is "the definite heritable character of certain inborn defects." As a great authority remarks: "Whereas our experience of what constitutes the extremes of unfitness is fairly definite, we have little to guide us in estimating the qualities for which the society has or may have a use or the numerical proportions in which they may be required. There is as yet nothing in the descent of higher qualities to suggest that they follow any simple system of transmission" (Bateson). "There is strong reason for holding that the enormous development in the mental functions of mankind, which has taken place during historic times, has not been associated with any significant germinal change"—which alone is hereditary. When in the sixth century, St. Augustine landed amidst the savages of Kent, no amount of eugenics would have told him that from these savages would spring the great British race. Whatever might be the degree of truth contained in the doctrine of race-superiority, it is as yet unknown to us and cannot be made the basis of socio-political adjustment.

But quite apart from the fact that such superiority or inferiority is always temporary and has no permanent significance, it is impossible to determine what exactly constitutes superiority. Men are indeed different in qualities, but to deduce superiority from these differences requires a prior determination of values. No such determination is possible or will perhaps ever be possible. We have no absolute and transcendental hierarchy of values, nor is such an hierarchy possible. In the absence of such an absolute standard of ethical values, a determination of the relative importance of different qualities for any particular age and time, is necessary. The only available criterion with reference to which such a schedule might be constructed is success in the struggle for life. But the conditions under which the struggle is carried on, and the conception of what constitutes success, vary from man to man, from country to country, from religion to religion, from civilization to civilization. Changes in personal, in natural, in social environment, bring about changes in the relative importance of different qualities. What Europe to-day looks down upon as the typical Asiatic qualities—such as faith, resignation, obedience, patience—may under different conditions become the most valuable of human assets. The relativity of values is a fact of supreme importance, as it tells us that even

if it were possible to construct a hierarchy of values, it will cease to hold good in a different country and in a different age.

But we cannot deny that in the actual world there is superiority and inferiority, and this difference tends to continue in the immediate future. Nor is it possible to deny that for the civilization and progress of the world, the better should be encouraged at the expense of the worse. Otherwise justice will be violated. But it appears to be impossible for us at this stage of our knowledge to make the necessary selection. At present there is selection by battle. The world is for the brave and woe to the conquered. If we are to eliminate war, we must be able to substitute some more rational form of selection in place of the crude natural selection that prevails now. But no such alternative is available and without some such alternative, a world settlement would neither be possible nor be fair.

The "Struggle for Existence and Exploitation" and the impossibility of eliminating it might be the most difficult, but it is not the only factor which makes the hope of peace a far-off one. We have pointed out before that the Great Powers combined do not count for more than one-fourth of the world's total population, and even among the Great Powers there are Greater Powers. England, France and America together rule and exploit about 70% of the world, that is, 20 crores of people rule and exploit 150 crores. England, whose population is about 2% of the world's, rules 20% of the world's territory and 25% of the world's population. This is not a peculiar feature of to-day, but has been a constant peculiarity of history all along. Most unfortunately for humanity, the few have always ruled and the many have been ruled. The major part of the world thus lies open for conquest and domination by an ambitious power. The contestants are few, but the prize is enormous. Only a few nations are strong and powerful; the rest are either dependant or exist upon sufferance. Obviously, where the combatants are few and the booty is enormous, the chances of war are far greater than when the combatants are many and the prize is small. The Great War was fought only because there were two competitors England and Germany and the prize at stake was the domination of the world. If all the nations were great Powers and if the prize was a few acres of land, the war would never have been fought. If the world is to be successfully organised for peace, the weak nations must be made strong. It will not only make it difficult for any single Power or any small group of Powers to break the law and laugh at the opinion of mankind, now powerless to enforce itself; it would also minimise the chances of war by removing the weakness of nations and of races which always tempt the strong Powers to break the law. A weak nation is not only a danger to itself but she is a danger to the peace of the world; her weakness encourages the cupidity of her neighbours and tempts them to fight over her. During the last fifty years, the Pacific and the Balkan States together with Turkey have constituted the danger zone of the world, simply because China and these Balkan States were weak. The Crimean War would never have been fought if Turkey had been strong; the Russo-Japanese War would never have been fought if China had been

strong. England would not have pursued during the last fifty years, first an anti-Russian and then anti-German and to-day an anti-Japanese policy if India did not form the most precious jewel of the British crown ; the Manchurian fracas and the Abyssinian affair would never have troubled the peace of the world, if China and Abyssinia had been able to defend themselves. The social, political and, above all, the military development of the backward countries is a *sine qua non* of peace. The permanent peace of the world is intimately bound up with international equality. So long as Asia, Africa, South America remain as they are, there is little chance of the dreams of the pasifists ever being realised. They must be developed and made strong. But such development not only requires time, it requires help, at least security from foreign exploitation ; and only the Great Powers can render such help and can confer such security. But the Great Powers are themselves the exploiters. We can therefore easily understand what sort of help the backward countries would get. The history of the natives of Africa, of Asia and, above all, of the Mandated territories, where such development was the express aim, throws sufficient light on it.

In addition to the "Struggle for Existence and Exploitation" and the inequality of nations, we must take into consideration what has been called the difficulties in the path of peace. The love of struggle and of fight is inherent in every masculine heart, and war is the supreme form of that struggle. Our normal life is too orderly, too peaceful. Its monotonous routine, its life-long docility, its commercialisation of life prevent some of the deepest and strongest human impulses from ever being called into play. We achieve security, order and peace at the cost of adventure, imagination and risk ; but they also have their claims and a denial of them which is dictated by our day-to-day existence brings a "Nemesis of ennui."

"To such a victim of order and good organisation the realisation comes in some moment of sudden crisis, that he belongs to a nation, that his nation may take risks, may engage in difficult enterprises, enjoy the hot passion of doubtful combats, stimulate adventure and imagination by military expeditions to Mount Sinai and the Garden of Eden. The long years of public caution is avenged by a wild plunge into public madness. All the horrid duties of thrift and order and care which he has learned to fulfil in private are thought not to apply to public affairs ; it is patriotic and noble to be reckless for the nation though it would be wicked to be reckless for oneself".

These passions and impulses are not to be regarded as characteristic only of lower types of men. They lie deep in all men, and every man who is living, feels and responds to them. A great soul, like Vivekananda's or Tagore's can give expression to these impulses in spiritual or aesthetic emotions and activities but the ordinary mortal must have recourse to something more common. And that is war.

If war is to be abolished, some new outlet must be found for these impulses. It is not possible to deny them, not merely because a strong impulse is extremely difficult to check, but mainly because many of these

impulses which now lead men to war are in themselves essential to any vigorous and progressive life. Without imagination and love of adventure a society soon becomes stagnant and begins to decay. The wish for triumph for one's cause, the sense of solidarity with large bodies of men are not things which a man will wish to destroy. It is only their outcome in death and destruction and hatred that is evil.

The problem was considered by William James in an admirable address on the "Moral Equivalent of War" delivered to a Congress of Pacifists during the Spanish-American War of 1898. There he argued that war calls forth into play some of the supreme virtues of men in their noblest form—it is the one institution which makes heroes of common men in the highest sense of the term; and if war is to be eliminated, some other institutions must be found to take its place.

But this has not yet been found. We yet lack a "Moral Equivalent of War." Peaceful outlets which can really replace war, do not yet exist. Something can be done by sports, by travels into unexplored regions, by scientific excursions below the sea or above the earth. Something more can be done by high idealism, by development of a Universal Religion of public service, by spread of the Vedantic ideal which asks a man to be a perpetual fighter against his own baser self. But it is doubtful whether they will really be an equivalent for war, either in its dramatic intensity or in its appeal to the common man. They do not offer an adequate solution; perhaps, as Russel observes, "no adequate solution is possible."

A discussion on international problems cannot be closed without some reference to nationalism and imperialism. Nationalism has come to be regarded as the great enemy of peace, and anti-nationalist propaganda is an important work with many leading pacifists and thinkers. We do not deny that nationalism, which is a manifestation of the herd-instinct, and embodies the spirit of rivalry between nations, is a paramount cause of war and a great menace to world's peace. But, with all that, it is something of a moral necessity. The greatest advance in the moral life of the individual lies in breaking down the walls of personal self-interest which separate him from others, and in developing a feeling of solidarity with larger interests. All great religions, all great teachers of humanity, have taught us that the essence of a noble life lies in merging your individual self in a bigger self, in being able to regard the interest of all as your own. To live your life you must lose it, you must break the prison walls of your ego.

Nationalism is the only thing which enables the common man to realise this moral unity to some extent. It alone brings to masses of men the sense of solidarity with others, the sense of martyrdom for great causes and great interests. The cause may be the Devil's, but that does not detract from the moral value of the thing—the emotion and the self-sacrifice. So if nationalism is to be tabooed, something else must be substituted in its place. We must have a moral equivalent of nationalism. The development of the proletariat, of class-consciousness, is certainly

a substitute, but it will not eliminate war. The development of the Religion of Man, of a Universal Religion devoted to public service might be a substitute, but is a thing for the few. For the masses, there seems to be no available substitute for nationalism.

Moreover, a "group instinct" like nationalism can lead to war only when there are actual issues at stake. It is these issues which constitute the real causes of war. So long as these causes remain, there will always be war, and the elimination of one form of herd instinct will lead to its emergence in another. Europe has ceased to fight on religious issues ; we hear a great deal of religious toleration in Europe ; but she is torn between national dissensions. Reform should begin at the root, the causes ; reform of results is always ineffective.

Lastly, a few words must be said about imperialism. There are those who regard imperialism as a "half-way house" between nationalism and internationalism. They hold that the best practical chance of peace lies in the extension of the power of some one particular country over the rest of the world. They look upon the Roman Empire and partly the British Empire as a partial realisation of their ideal. Of course, if a nation is powerful enough to impose its rule over all others, and keep them in peace, there will be no war. But such a peace will not be for the good of mankind. Peace is desirable to the extent to which it enables men to realise all that is best in them, over and above what they are able to do in an unsettled world. It is not the mere elimination of war, the mere establishment of the rule of law, which is to be aimed at, but the establishment of the reign of justice, of an era of progress. If the price of peace is the loss of man's self-expression, of his higher moral and intellectual qualities, then that peace bodes death. Imperialism will give us such a peace. For imperialism, throughout history, has stood for the enslavement, for the exploitation of the dependant nations, in the interests of the ruling power. Gibbon has called the hundred years that passed between the rise of Trajan, the great Roman Emperor and the death of Marcus Aurelius, the happiest period in the history of the human race. It might or might not have been the happiest period but it was certainly the most unproductive period. A world-embracing British or American imperialism might bring peace into the world, but that peace is the peace of death. We have got plenty of it in the churchyard.

We have not considered here any of those technical matters that bulk so large in the usual discussions of this problem. We have rather tried to elucidate the more deep-seated causes of war, that are generally ignored in ordinary discussions, as they do not lend themselves to easy and happy solutions. Yet anyone trying to understand the problem must face the facts seriously. We have also desisted from giving any clear cut answer to the question whether Peace is possible as that is beyond our power. Time alone can supply the answer.

The Jute Industry Crisis

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ON account of a combination of factors, the economic position of jute in India has become vastly intriguing. In this paper, an attempt will be made to examine the chief features of this position. Broadly speaking, the following factors at present govern the supply side of jute in its agricultural as well as commercial aspects : the Government scheme of the voluntary restriction of jute production by attempting to bring about a reduction of its area to two-thirds of what it was in 1934 ; the application of jute mill industry for the legislative enforcement of shorter working hours in the mills and Government refusal to comply with the request ; and the endeavours by the Jute Mills Association to re-organise itself on a more efficient basis, as a preliminary where to notice has been given for the abrogation of the existing agreement under with the Association mills as well as five of the non-Association mills on working on reduced loomage and shorter working hours. On the demand side, we have two factors, namely, the world economic depression leading to a very much reduced demand for their carrying material which again is reflected in an abnormally low price level for the fibre, and the growth of mills outside India with an estimated loomage of 45,000 to 50,000 as against a loomage of 62,800 in India. All these factors have acted and reacted on each other, but if we are to have even a rough measure of these factors, it is necessary that we should first know the elements of the economics of jute so far as they have a bearing on the present day problems of the industry.

The first point that should be noted is that though for all practical purposes, jute considered as a fibre is a monopoly of Bengal and the border lands of Assam and Bihar, jute manufactures are not a monopoly of this country. Half of the jute grown is exported, and during the last 40 years, the area under jute increased from 1½ millions acres to 3½ million acres. The record export of jute took place in the year 1929-30, the year immediately preceding the depression, when the value of jute exported exceeded Rs. 27 crores. These exports are turned into manufactures by the mills of Dundee, Hamburg, etc., and compete with Indian products in the foreign markets.

The total loomage of Indian and non-Indian mills has already been given. There are in India 75 jute mills with Rs. 60 to 65 crores worth of capital sunk in the industry (apart from working capital) giving employment to 2,50,000 persons more or less. At the beginning of this century,

there were only about 15,000 looms working so that up till now there has been an increase of 400 per cent in the total loomage. It is estimated that there has been a similar increase in the number of foreign looms.

To what extent the world economic depression has caught up the industry will be evident from the following figures : the pre-War average cost of jute was Rs. 290 per ton whereas in 1933-34, the average cost dropped to Rs. 146, that is, by 50 per cent. In 1925-26, the total value of raw jute reached the high figure of Rs. 38 crores whereas during the last three years the value has been on the average Rs. 10 crores a year. Or, we can put it in this way : while the quantity of exports of raw jute in 1933-34 was equal to that of the pre-War average, its value dropped by 50 per cent from a little over Rs. 22 crores to a little less than Rs. 11 crores in 1933-34. It is, however, significant that as against this sharp reduction in the price of raw jute, the average cost of the manufactures exported dropped only to Rs. 317 per ton from the pre-War average of Rs. 342 per ton, a drop of about 8 per cent only.* One conclusion which is very material from our point of view is that while the foreign manufactures have reaped the full advantage of the drop in the price of raw jute, the price of the jute fabrics manufactured in India and exported to other countries has not gone down by anything like a corresponding extent with the result that their competition strength *vis-a-vis* the foreign mills has failed to take full advantage of the position.

Here we come to a little more close grips with the problem. The Indian section of the industry is controlled by the Indian Jute Mills Association which has a membership of 55 (out of 75) mills with a total loomage of 56,872 looms. The preceding paragraph will *prima facie* suggest that having regard to the price of the raw material, there ought to be room for considerable reduction in the price of the jute fabrics and that the Association with its predominant position in the industry should take the initiative in the matter. In fact, the trouble is that from the side of the Association we have had so far no satisfactory explanation for failure to do it. Instead, the Association so far seems to have pinned its faith in a policy of restricting the output which appears to be the latest excuse for covering every kind of economic incompetence and inefficiency.

On this point, we must distinguish between the policy of restricting the production of jute and that of curtailing the manufacture of jute fabrics. For the time being, we leave aside the question of compulsory restriction. So far as raw jute is concerned, it is obvious that it is at present selling at uneconomic prices and that a reduction in the production would favourably affect prices since jute is a monopoly of India. So far as the jute manufactures are concerned, it has already been suggested that the prices have not fallen enough to affect profits seriously and that a policy of restriction of the output of jute fabrics suffers from the following limitations, e. g. limitations imposed by independent, that is, non-Association mills in India and

* *Vide* the letter addressed by the Secretary of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce on this subject in October, 1935.

and those imposed by mills working outside India, together with the further disadvantage that during a general period of falling incomes, an unduly high price of the fabric would compel the consumer to turn to substitutes.

There are, however, a few points in favour of jute mills which, in fairness, must be recognised. The costs of a manufacturing concern operating on a large scale go up proportionately as the scale of operation is reduced. Or to put it the other way, costs diminish more than proportionately as the scale of production is increased. This is known in economics as the principle of increasing returns and though the jute mill industry is basically an agricultural industry much of its costs is of a fixed character which the output must bear in addition to its own specific, or prime costs. Naturally, a 50 per cent reduction in the price of raw material would not automatically secure an equivalent fall in the price of the final product. Nevertheless, anyone who has studied the organisation of the jute mill industry in Bengal and its costs with some care will be able easily to testify to the fact that the industry is overburdened now, as it has been in the past, with costs that are redundant and that in consequence the manufacturing costs are unduly high*. That, however, does not necessarily mean that an extreme reduction in costs is either possible or even desirable, and it is a subject on which a difference of opinion has already manifested itself.

Further, whatever might have been the extent of the lack of responsibility shown by the Jute Mills Association in the past, there is no doubt that at present it is a common co-parcener in distress and suffering with the growers of jute, though the degree of suffering may be different. It is a condition of the prosperity of the jute growers that the industry should be prosperous. Besides, a large amount of capital has been sunk in the mills and they give employment to a large number of industrial labour. Probably a majority of the shareholders are Indians and their interests are no less worthy of attention than the interests of any other class of Indians, though, as prime producers, the growers should always be the first in our thoughts. All these facts should be borne in mind before a right solution of the problem of the jute industry can be attempted.

The solution which the Jute Mills themselves attempted was a dubious one—that of a voluntary restriction of working hours together with the sealing up of 15 per cent of the looms—though with this domestic arrangement the public could not have been critical excepting in an indirect way. The weakness of the policy was, however, soon apparent, and in May, 1932, concessions had to be made to certain mills outside of the Association† whereby they had to be accorded special facilities in the shape of longer working hours—54 a week in their case as against 40 in the case of Association mills. The fact that I have called this arrangement

* Those who want to have a somewhat detailed information and evidence on the subject would do well to refer to Mr. J. N. Sengupta's "Economics of Jute" with its very useful and instructive tables, calculations and appendices.

† The Adamjee Jute Mills Ltd, the Agarpara Company Limited, the Gogalbhai Jute Mills Ltd, the Ludlow Jute Co., Ltd, and the Shree Hanuman Jute Mills.

"domestic" need not mean that no public importance attached to this move. The fact that the rapprochement was brought about largely through the influence of His Excellency Sir John Anderson testified to the importance of the Agreement. But this intervention was made admittedly in order to avert an imminent crisis and Sir John himself would be the last to claim that his intervention meant any approval of the balance sheets of the mills concerned or of their relations to the jute growers or of their treatment of the labour employed. His intervention was rather aimed at averting what amounted to a 'serious domestic dispute and affected the happiness and well-being of the family only indirectly. When, however, the Association petitioned the Government on the 26th July, 1934, for giving legislative effect to the terms of the Agreement in order to make them binding on all mills, the question of restriction at once assumed a public importance not only because of the element of coercion that it would involve on mills that would not otherwise agree to that Agreement but because it would also involve a public approval of the measures proposed as being in the best interests of the community as a whole. This is, again, quite apart from the question as to whether the scheme proposed was calculated to secure the end aimed at—for the problem of the foreign mills would still remain—or whether the end aimed at could be achieved by other and less controversial, or more desirable, means.

The position of the industry considered as a whole in July, 1934, must, therefore, be summed up in this way. The price of raw jute had gone down and was still going down, beyond the limit at which it would be economic, far less profitable, for the jute growers to sell their jute. At least half of the jute is sold to the mills so that in the interests of a strong market it was inevitable that measures should be taken to strengthen the position of the jute mill industry in order to check the effects of the depression on it. In general terms, it would, however, appear that a policy of restriction would reduce, rather than enhance, the demand for the raw material. But unrestricted competition and overproduction would also ultimately lead to the same result by a collapse of the market and closing down some of the mills. Having regard to the state of the demand, it has been estimated by Dr. Nemenyi that the whole of the world's demand for jute fabrics may be met if all the Indian mills worked 54 hours a week, and even now new mills are springing up. But before a policy of restriction can be recommended, it would have at least a prospect of success. So far as the Indian mills are concerned, there is no doubt that in some measure at least the Indian Jute Mills Association can control the market but even then the problem presented by the independent mills has been found by experience to be incapable of solution except by legislative enforcement of the policy of restriction. Even if we assumed that the public would support such a move, that it was necessary in the best interests of the community as a whole and that no other way was available to stabilise the industry, the prospects of such a policy would be heavily discounted by the fact that about 50,000 working looms, that is, in the

foreign centres, would be outside the scheme, half of the total production thus being ignored. Of course, the products of the Indian mills and of the non-Indian mills are not all competitive, but there is always the chance that the latter may capture the market at present supplied by the Indian mills, just as Japan has done in regard to our Chinese market for cotton yarn, and thus force the issue once again. There would be some sense in an international cartel but very little in an arrangement in which the mills outside of India would be ignored. The letter of the Association dated the 26th July, 1934, does not foreshadow any likelihood of an international arrangement. It is quite possible, of course, that a domestic agreement should be considered an essential preliminary to an international agreement. But there are other factors in the situation which are well worth attention before an agreement of this kind—which must necessarily be a weapon to be used in the last resort—can be supported. In particular, we have to answer these two questions: is the industry, such as it is, managed efficiently so that the consumer may be sure that the sacrifice which he is called upon to bear is the minimum required under the circumstances, and if not, whether a re-organization of the industry on an efficient basis would not secure to the industry a margin of profit which it wants to secure by means of restriction? and secondly, whether there is any other means of securing this margin of profit excepting restriction of output?

So far as the first question is concerned, the Government reply, dated the 12th August last, to the petition of the Jute Mills Association is emphatic that "the existing demands could possibly be supplied by a quarter of the machinery now available, and the highest demand ever reached so far could probably be satisfied by a third of the existing mills." As against this, we have the statement of Mr. S. K. Scott, Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association that the redundant machinery in the industry in these days of reduced demand is only 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the whole. While we may leave the Government and the Association to fight out the correct extent of over-capitalization in the industry, the fact remains that even a 30 per cent over-capitalization is not a negligible factor in the situation though, in a sense, Mr. Scott's estimate of redundant plant would make the task of the rationalization of the industry—which is the only remedy suggested by the Government—easier. If, on the other hand, the Government estimate turns out to be the correct one, we are yet to know if the Government really suggest that it is possible or even desirable that 75 per cent of the machinery should be scrapped in a process of ruthless rationalization. It would amount to an invitation to the jute industry of Bengal to bring about a crisis of an immense magnitude almost similar to the crisis that has overtaken the cotton textile industry of Bombay. For by "rationalization" the Government mean "concentrating production in a limited number of mills securing adequate use of their machinery." This can be done either by a *pro rata* reduction in the capital of the several mills or by closing down three-fourths of the mills. The former would imply an agreement; the latter a war of unrestricted production, a fight to the bitter end,

of the cultivation of jute is at all likely to be successful. The final forecast of the last season's crops which shows a decrease of 21 lakhs of bales cannot, as Dr. Nemenyi tells us, be relied upon. Moreover, it must be remembered that besides the proverbial inaccuracy of these forecasts, the weather co-operated during the last sowing season in bringing off a poor yield.

In short, a complete scheme for the rehabilitation of the jute industry of India must involve a comprehensive programme based upon a common fellowship of the jute grower with the mill-owner. The Royal Agricultural Commission preached the slogan "From the field to the factory" in their recommendation for a Central Jute Committee. The new slogan would be "From the field to the consumer," the factory being an intermediate step. The principle of control, and to that extent, of State intervention must be recognised not only in regard to the agricultural and marketing side of the fibre but also to the manufacturing and commercial side of the finished product. In view of the notice of abrogation of the Agreement under which the jute mills are at present working, and the efforts of the Association to re-organise itself, the time is very opportune for launching, under the auspices of the Government, a comprehensive programme for the rehabilitation of the industry as a whole. While, indeed, we congratulate the Government for the bold stand they have taken in the interests of the jute grower and the consumers in their reply to the Association last August, their concern for either would have no positive significance unless they came forward to assist, and that promptly, in the endeavours of the industry for stabilizing itself and to extend the scope of these efforts to include all the aspects of the "problem" of jute so that a permanent solution may be found.

Hitherto, the suggestion that has held the field is the setting up of a Central Jute Committee to look over the interests of jute from the field to the factory. The Committee would, no doubt, be responsible for re-organizing and improving the marketing of the fibre, for their proper grading and for securing adequate and timely finance. It would be responsible for the establishment of co-operative sale societies under adequate supervision and thus dealing with the problem of superfluous middlemen; for the erection of warehouses under a suitable licensing system that would give the ryot a holding power and at the same time facilitate securing financial assistance from banks; and last but not the least, with the co-operation of the Government, for securing to the cultivator a minimum fair return of the costs. But all this represents only one side of the problem. The present plight of the jute mill industry shows that the other side of the problem, that is, the manufacturing side, cannot also be ignored without a perpetual threat to the stability of the industry as a whole. The problem is how to correlate the two aspects of the problem.

There is no doubt that the solution of this problem would become vastly easy if an international agreement as to export quotas could be secured. But such an agreement is difficult to secure and still more

difficult to maintain for any length of time. Besides, it would not enable us to take full advantage of our position as possessing a monopoly of the raw material. Thus there is no reason, if our Indian mills working 54 hours a week can supply the entire world demand for jute, why so much as half of the jute need be exported. With an efficient working of the jute mills and with economy in the overhead charges, there is no reason why with cheap and abundant labour and a monopoly of raw material India should not be able to monopolise the whole output. To be able to sell to outside mills is a minor and at best a temporary advantage for the jute growers. The difference between the costs of foreign mills and those of Indian mills ought to provide a considerable margin of advantage to the latter whereby they ought to be able successfully to withstand the competition of foreign mills in the foreign markets. For instance, with an increase in the offtake of jute by the Indian mills and the fixing of a minimum price for the jute grower (with State subsidy, if necessary), the need for selling to shippers would gradually diminish and a cautious increase in the export duty would on the one hand give further power to the elbow of our jute mill industry and on the other hand compensate the Government for an otherwise loss of revenue on account of reduced exports. The present exportable surplus, in other words, is largely, if not wholly, artificial. It is due to the inefficiency of the local jute mill industry *vis-a-vis* the foreign mills and to their indifference to the interests of jute growers in the craze for dividends. The advantage of an initial start seems to have demoralised them thoroughly, so that like the British textile industry they now require special props. If they do not wake up now, a time might come when Dundee and Hamburg would be underselling us in our own market and still make a profit, as Japan has already started doing in the British textile market !

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SAMPLES ALWAYS SENT ON APPLICATION.

LEND YOUR SUPPORT TO INDIAN INDUSTRY

The Great Refresher

"If a stranger say unto thee," said Confucius to his disciples, "that he thirsteth, give unto him a cup of tea without price." What can be a more graceful act of hospitality than offering the cup that cheers and always refreshes to some one who is panting with thirst? The great philosopher, who enjoined on his followers the duty of giving a cup of tea to a thirsty stranger, has won world-wide renown for his essentially humanistic teachings.

This human element is inseparably bound up with the daily ritual of tea drinking wherever it is observed. That is why we have come to associate tea drinking as one of the graces of our social life. Tea is a refresher, first and last. It is something that we not only seek for ourselves but also something that we love to offer to friends and strangers alike. A well-known tea drinker has called it "the precious liquor which chases away the five causes of sorrow". This is not a poetic exaggeration but a spontaneous and sincere tribute to tea, the Great Refresher.

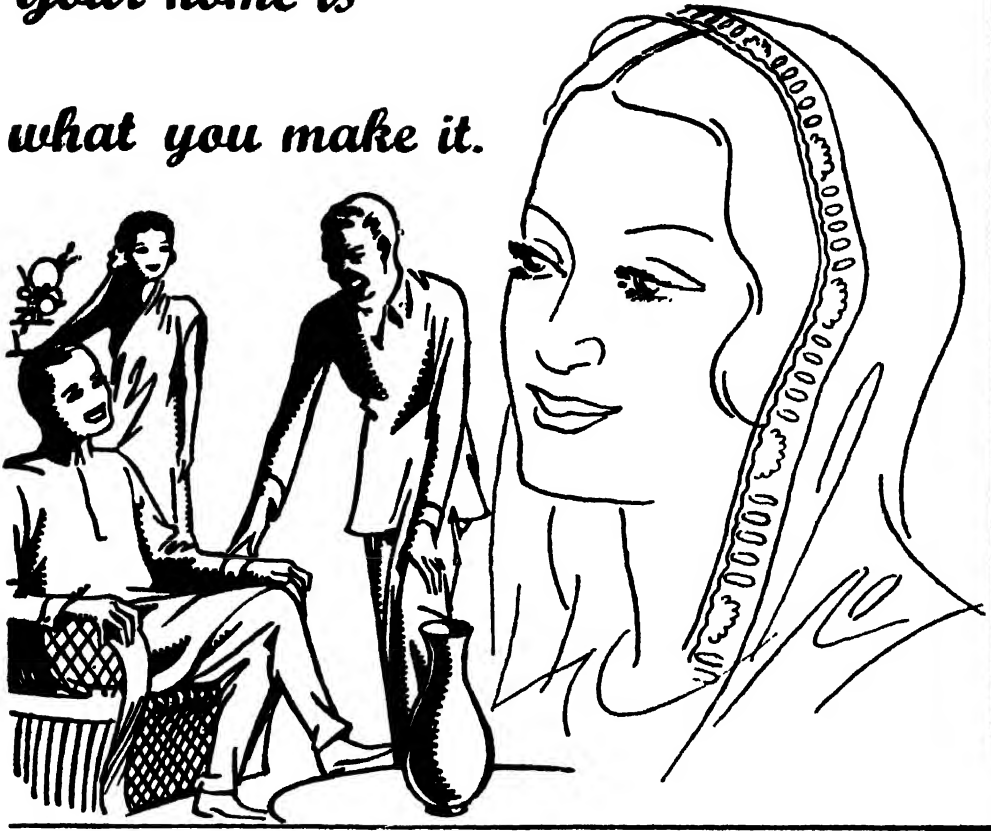
When the body is weary and the mind not in its proper equilibrium, drink a cup of tea. It is not possible to describe the state of repose you feel as you drink it. All your muscular and mental energy at once revives; you feel both refreshed and restored.

The commonest of misconceptions about tea is that it is an intoxicant, although it contains absolutely no alcoholic property even as a herb or after manufacture. On the contrary, it has often been found to act as a corrective to the desire for intoxicating liquors and drugs. The gradual spread of tea drinking amongst the Indian workers and peasants has undoubtedly had the effect of weaning a large number of them from today.

There is plenty of good tea grown and manufactured in India to suit the most slender purse and the most sophisticated taste. At a very small cost Indian tea provides us all with an absolutely harmless and wholesome beverage. It goes without saying that as the tea drinking habit grows, the people of India will not only gain in physical strength and endurance but will also advance their national prosperity.



*Your home is
what you make it.*

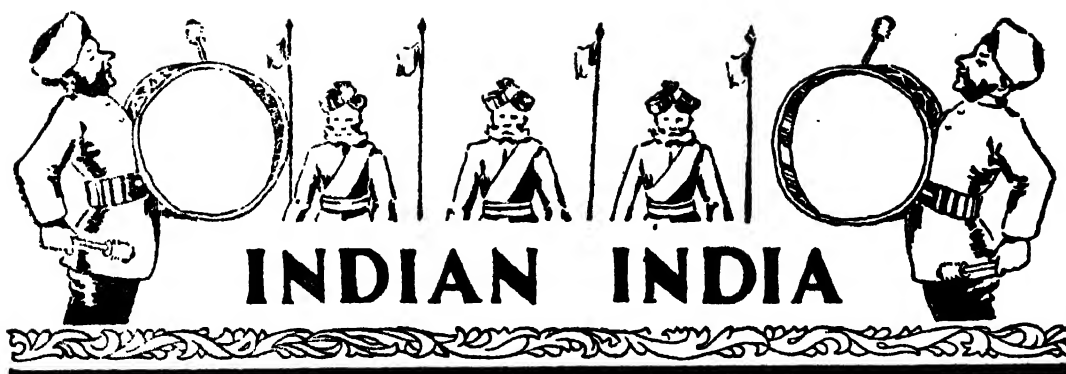


SOME homes are frigid and cold, others have that welcome atmosphere. And it is the women of the house who creates that atmosphere. Understanding women who want to help their husbands, realise how important it is to invite interesting people into their homes. For that, the idle time of course, is tea time; a cup of good refreshing Indian Tea makes conversation lively, it brings a warmth and friendship into the house. It is a veritable cup of kindness that makes new friends for us every day. Start the tea-party habit if you haven't already, and use good Indian Tea.

HOW TO PREPARE TEA. *Use good Indian Tea. Boil fresh water. Rinse with warm water a clean and dry earthenware tea pot. Take one teaspoonful of tea for every person and one extra for the pot. Pour boiling water on to tea leaves in the pot. Allow five minutes for infusion; then pour out into cups, adding milk and sugar.*



The only family beverage - INDIAN TEA



HYDERABAD

His Exalted Highness has been pleased to order that the Silver Jubilee celebrations which were to take place in the first week of Shawwal 1354 H. (coinciding with the last four days of December, 1935 and the first three days of January, 1936) should for various reasons be postponed till the first week of Zilhej 1354 H. (24th February to 1st March, 1936). There will be general holidays from the 24th to the 27th February. The 28th February (5th Zilhej) being Friday, will also be a holiday. There will be half-day holidays everyday till the 8th Zilhej, and thereafter the general holidays for Id-uz-Zaha will commence,

* * * *

The following *Communique* re: Recommendations of the Working Committee regarding Silver Jubilee Fund has been issued by the Nizam's Government :

The Working Committee have recommended to the Central Silver Jubilee Committee that a large part of the funds collected from public subscriptions and donations should, in the spirit of His Exalted Highness's Firman, be spent on works of public welfare such as a Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Educational scholarships, 4 Poor Houses, a public Play-ground under the Tank Bund, a Police Hospital, 3 Reading Rooms, a model village and Rural Re-construction work, 3 Orphanages, a public Park in the bed of the Mir Jumla Tank, 3 Child Welfare Centres and an Ophthalmic Hospital. The total cost of these schemes was estimated at Rs. 27,75,000/-. As it was uncertain, however, as to what exactly the subscriptions and donations would amount to, the following programme of works of public welfare has been recommended unanimously as the minimum that would be necessary for a fit commemoration of the auspicious occasion of His Exalted Highness' Jubilee :—

A Tuberculosis Sanatorium costing 8 lakhs ; Educational scholarships costing 2 lakhs ; a model village and Rural Re-construction work costing 1 lakh ; Reading Rooms in each of the Divisional Head-quarters costing 1 lakh ; 4 Child Welfare Centres costing 1 lakh ; and 3 Orphanages costing 1,50,000/-. It has been suggested that half of the total cost of this minimum scheme should be met from the Silver Jubilee Fund and half contributed by Government.

* * * *

To the long list of liberal grants to deserving educational institutions, His Exalted Highness has recently added one more, the recipient

this time being the Ferguson College at Poona and the amount donated Rs. 10,000. This is the second of the institutions in the same city to receive gifts from His Exalted Highness, the first being the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

* * * * *

Following the lead given by the Government of India and the Governments of several Indian Provinces H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have appointed a Marketing Officer and four Assistant Marketing Officers to carry on an intensive programme of development of marketing facilities for agricultural products grown in the State. The programme will include investigation and marketing surveys of existing conditions from all points of view, development work and work on grade standards. The surveys and other parts of the work will for the present have reference to cereals (wheat and rice) oilseeds (castor, groundnuts and linseed) gardening and special crops (fruit and tobacco) and animal husbandry products divided into dairy products (milk, butter, eggs, poultry) and livestock (hides, skins, wool, livestock and fish). The matters which are included *inter alia* in the scope of the surveys are regulated markets, marketing organisation, fairs, Municipal regulation of markets, co-operative marketing, the problem of preservation of the products, standardisation of the contains, etc. The requirements of the export and import trade will be carefully studied.

* * * * *

The Hyderabad Government have been able to forge one more link in a long and continuous chain of surplus budgets. For 1945 F. the budgetted receipts are estimated at Rs. 855.92 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 839.46. A surplus of Rs. 16.46 lakhs would therefore accrue and this after provision has been made for Rs. 15 lakhs for famine and Rs. 18.68 lakhs for the Debt Redemption Reserve.

The increase on the expenditure side of 8½ lakhs over the ordinary budget of the previous year is due to the recent 3½ per cent loan (of a crore of rupees) repayable in 1955-65 F. (the Debt Redemption and Interest charges for the loan accounting for about Rs. 9 lakhs), and the increase on the revenue side of Rs. 7.34 lakhs is mainly accounted for by an estimated rise of Rs. 4 lakhs in Land Revenue and of Rs. 10 lakhs under Excise (due to the introduction of the Madras system).

The capital expenditure provided for 1945 F. amounts to Rs. 72.43 lakhs against Rs. 46.88 lakhs of the previous year. Out of this, Rs. 12.78 lakhs is provided for Irrigation (including 6.77 lakhs for Nizamsagar, 1.43 lakhs for Singambhupalam and 3.89 lakhs maintenance charges of Irrigation Works) Rs. 6.60 lakhs for Electricity, Rs. 23.32 lakhs for Railways (Open line construction) Rs. 18.96 lakhs for expansion of Road Mechanical Transport, linking motor with Railway Transport under the same agency. In respect of the last mentioned services Hyderabad is undoubtedly a

pioneer state having spent (up to the end of 1344 F.) as much as Rs. 21'11 lakhs and earned for the state coffers 2'82 lakhs after setting apart 3'10 lakhs for depreciation. Among the smaller items for capital expenditure are Rs. 3 lakhs for construction of residences (to be let out on adequate rents) of Civil and Military Officers and Rs. 5.20 lakhs for commutation of Pensions and Mansabs.

The principal Revenue heads (ordinary) are as follows : Land Revenue 325 lakhs, Customs 95 lakhs, Excise 165 lakhs, Stamps 20'65 lakhs, Opium and Ganja 15'50 lakhs, Forest and Forests Revenue 14'60 lakhs, Excise duty on Matches 10 lakhs, Berar Rent 29'17 lakhs, Interest 27'47 lakhs, Paper Currency 19'20 lakhs, Railways 108'36 lakhs ; and the principal heads of expenditure (ordinary grants) are General Administration Rs. 41'91 lakhs, Land Revenue 66'66 lakhs, Customs 22'05 lakhs, Excise 35'36 lakhs, Interest 44'76 lakhs, Debt Redemption 18'68 lakhs, Education 88'67 lakhs, Medical, 27'00 lakhs, Irrigation 23'31 lakhs, Famine 15'00 lakhs, Buildings etc. 88'49 lakhs, Military 84'04 lakhs and Police 67'62 lakhs.

The cash balance at the end of 1344 F. is expected to be 292'07 lakhs including 144 lakhs or account of the new Loan and the year 1345 F. is expected to close after financing the capital expenditure of 72'43 lakhs, with a balance of 267'12 lakhs.

BARODA

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations it has been decided to hold the celebrations during the week beginning from December 30 next. The list of events was finally approved and further referred to the *Khangi* Department for drawing up a regular programme according to the convenience of the Maharaja Saheb.

The Rural Life Exhibition and all sports and amusements, including military sports, torch light tattoo etc., will be open to the public free of any entrance fee.

* * *

That the Diamond Jubilee year of the rule of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar is also the Silver Jubilee year of the Library Movement of Baroda must be regarded as a happy coincidence. The Library Movement has been "a valuable auxiliary to the State system of free and compulsory primary education" ; it has indeed been the coping stone of the educational arch. The movement has got a decidedly rural bias ; the village libraries, which are over a thousand in number, have been allowed to develop on independent lines with very little extraneous control but real help from the central authority in the shape of both funds and books. Starting with a fund of Rs. 100 collected from among the villagers themselves, each village library keeps on receiving two-thirds of its annual expenses from the State Library Department and the District Local Board until such time as it can dispense with such financial help. Many of the village and town libraries have their separate Ladies' and Children's

sections. The aim is to extend their activities till the libraries serve as much as reading rooms as social clubs. The dreams of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of making everyone of his subjects love reading and making a library a necessity and not a luxury with him, seem to be nearing fulfilment; for today only 26.6 per cent of the State's population is not served by libraries, 'and that is because', says Mr. T. D. Waking, Curator of Libraries, Baroda, 'this percentage represents people who live in remote and scattered huts and have not developed the least vestige of corporate life'. "Even so however" continues Mr. Waking "they are not entirely neglected. The travelling library boxes reach the very doors of their dwellings. The Central Library has a stock of books intended to be circulated to such scattered villagers and to smaller village libraries which require their slender bookstock to be replenished occasionally by a supply from the central reservoir. The travelling library boxes are sent out to and received from the remote villages at the cost of the Library Department". It is understood that the Central Library circulated last year 1,47,118 volumes of which about 35,000 were in English. This is the largest circulation of any library in India.

The All-India Public Library Association of Beewada has proposed to hold the next session of its Conference at Baroda at the time of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, to present a commemoration volume and to confer a title on His Highness the Gaekwar for his services in the cause of the Indian Library Movement by his pioneer efforts and subsequent continued interest.

MYSORE

The *Navaratri* festival this year has surpassed even the most brilliant of its predecessors "in the dignity of its ceremonial, in the brilliance of its pageantry, in respects of the delights to the eye, the refreshment to the mind, the sport and amusement provided and the multitude of those who have come to enjoy it". More than a lakh of people have visited the Dussera Exhibition; the gate collections amounted to Rs. 12,500 and stall rents to Rs. 6,200. The products of several industrial sections controlled by the Department of Industries and Commerce, Mysore Government, especially the artistic products of Sree Chamarajendra Technical Institute, attracted a large number of people. Prizes in connection with the exhibition were distributed by His Highness the Yubaraja of Mysore who stressed in his speech the desirability of holding more exhibitions—village, taluk, district and sectional exhibitions devoted to particular products.

The Dussera Durbar was attended with usual ceremonies and the Dussera procession more than usual pageantry. The illuminations of the Palace and the Exhibition buildings and of the towers and temples within Palace compound were striking features of the show.

* * * *

The Government have passed orders on the report of the Agriculturists' Relief Committee which had been appointed some time ago to go

into the question of agricultural indebtedness in the State and suggest measures for its solution. The committee recommended in the first instance the expansion of land mortgage banks in order to enable the agriculturists to convert their debts into long term loans which may be paid out of their current income, but as even then there would remain a large number of cases in which it would be impossible for the debtors to discharge their liabilities in full, a scheme for the composition of the debts through Debt Conciliation Boards was recommended by the Committee.

The scheme, as briefly stated by the *Statesman's* Bangalore correspondent, is that a debtor or any of his creditors may apply to the civil court of competent jurisdiction to effect a settlement. The court may appoint a Conciliation Board consisting of three to five members, of whom an equal number will be nominated by the debtors and the creditors, respectively, the chairman being selected by the court. The Board will call upon the debtor and his creditors to explain their respective cases and endeavour to secure an amicable settlement and for that purpose, it will have the power to require the attendance of witnesses and the production of documents and to receive evidence.

If all or any of the creditors come to an amicable settlement with the debtor, such settlement will be reduced to writing in the form of an agreement, the court shall pass a decree in terms of such agreement.

If a debtor makes default in paying any amount fixed under a decree, such amount will be recoverable, in the first instance as an arrear of land revenue, on the application of the creditor made within 90 days of the date of default, and if the Deputy Commissioner fails to recover any part of the amount as an arrear of land revenue, the matter should be reported to the civil court, and thereafter, the amount will be recoverable through the processes of the court.

If, however, any creditor does not come to an amicable settlement, the Board may, if it is satisfied that the debtor has made a fair offer, which the creditor ought reasonably to have accepted, grant the debtor a certificate in such form as may be prescribed in respect of the debts owed by him to such creditor, provided that the creditors to whom not less than 40 per cent of the debts are due have come to a settlement.

In the event of a creditor filing a suit for the recovery of debts in respect of which a certificate shall have been granted, the court shall not allow the plaintiff any costs in such suit, or any interest on the debt after the date of certification in excess of simple interest at six per cent per annum on the amount due on the date of such certificate, and if the suit is in respect of an unsecured debt, the execution of the decree passed in the suit shall be postponed till all amounts due under the settlement are paid or till the agreement has ceased to subsist.

Reference to Conciliation Boards is proposed to be limited to cases in which the total amount of debt does not exceed Rs. 10,000.

The Committee are not unanimous on the question whether conciliation should be voluntary or compulsory. Some members consider that the principle of compulsory conciliation would affect the credit of the agriculturists and that therefore the scheme should be only on a voluntary basis.

As regards the means of repaying the conciliated debt, the committee are of opinion that the payment of the debt by the State either in cash or by bonds is out of the question, in view of the largeness of the amount involved. They therefore suggest that, wherever possible, effort should be made to pay off the liquidated debt or a portion of it through co-operative societies or land mortgage banks, according to the length of the term over which the recovery has to be spread.

The Committee recognize that these agencies can help only in cases where the debtor has adequate security to offer and that there will still remain a class of debtors

whose conciliated debt, being far in excess of their assets, must be dealt with in a different manner. They recommend that such debtors should be afforded a chance of surrendering all their assets and of being adjudged insolvents so that they may earn their living, freed from the bondage of an impossible debt.

The Government have provisionally adopted the scheme, subject to further consideration and examination of details and would introduce it as an experimental measure in a few selected areas with the following modifications :—

Instead of *ad hoc* Conciliation Boards for each case the Government consider a *permanent* Board necessary for each local area to deal with all cases arising there.

Where there are several creditors, the decree will be binding only if the settlement is agreed to by creditors to whom not less than 50 per cent of the debts is due. Where there are both secured and unsecured debts, the further condition should be satisfied that creditors, to whom not less than 50 per cent of the secured debts is due agree to the settlement. When a settlement is arrived at, the Board will attempt to arrange payment to the creditor of the amounts of the debts as settled through a land mortgage bank or a co-operative society, and, where this is not possible the amount due will be recovered by the Deputy Commissioner as an arrear of land revenue. If it is not recovered, the agreement will cease to subsist and creditors will have their usual remedies through the civil courts. No court fees will be levied, but stamp duty will be only as for application.

In cases where the liquidated debt is far in excess of the assets, the Conciliation Board may act as an insolvency court, as proposed by the Committee.

The Government further agree to the Committee's proposal to raise the value of the loans that may be granted by the co-operative land mortgage banks on the hypothecation of properties from 50 to 70 per cent of their market value.

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In the recent session of the Mysore Legislative Assembly the Government proposed to reduce the rate of interest on takavi and land improvement loans from 6 to 5½ per cent and the final interest from 8 to 6½ per cent.

TRAVANCORE

The Government have appointed an influential committee of officials and non-officials to suggest such amendments in the Travancore Code of Criminal Procedure (which was based on the Indian Code of the year 1892) as may be necessary to bring it in conformity with present day conditions.

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Travancore was *en fete* on the occasion of the Ruler's birthday on October, 26th last. There were military parades, illuminations, house decorations and firing of guns ; there was an impressive scout rally in which 750 scouts and cubs and 350 Guides and Blue-Birds from about 50 centres in Travancore as also a contingent from Cochin participated. A birthday Durbar was also held with imposing ceremonies in the Durbar Hall.

The Sri Chitra Exhibition was organised as part of the birthday celebrations. Dr. N. K. Pillai, Chief Secretary to the Travancore Durbar, who opened it, referred to the Maharaja's great interest in the industrial development

of the State and invited the co-operation of the people to enable the Government to make Travancore one of the richest States in India.

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The Educational Advisory Board of Travancore have arrived at important conclusions regarding questions of tenure and conditions of service of teachers in aided schools. They have decided that the previous approval of the Director of Public Instruction was necessary for the dismissal of teachers in these schools. The question of supplanting the practice of paying the Government grant to managers by a system of direct payment of salaries to teachers also engaged their attention and they decided to give a trial to the latter system.

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The Dewan has granted permission for the introduction of a private bill in the Travancore Legislative Assembly drawn up on the lines of the Sarda Act in British India. The object of the bill is to fix the minimum marriageable age of boys and girls at 18 and 14, respectively, and thereby prevent as far as may be, their physical and mental deterioration through early marriage.

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At a recent session held at Trivandrum, the Travancore Women's Conference have passed a resolution expressing the opinion that it was not desirable to encourage the opening of birth control clinics since very little was known of the effects of birth control on a nation.

INDORE

The new budget sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar for the year beginning from 1st October, 1936, to 30th September, 1937, shows a surplus despite a number of new items on the expenditure side.

Provision of Rs. 1,57,000 for the landing ground of the Indore Aerodrome, provision for a geological and mining survey of the State, a grant for starting vocational education in the State, complete restoration of the emergency cut in the pay and allowances of officers and a revision in the scale of pay of a number of officers are some of its striking features. Besides these a sum of money, to be used under the personal direction of His Highness, has been provided for encouraging new industries and industrial research.

A new building fund has been created with an allotment of about Rs. 3 lakhs which will be added to by contributions from the Reserve Fund, sale proceeds of public buildings and savings of all departments in their building account.

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At the request of a deputation of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association which recently waited on him, His Highness has agreed to be the patron of the Association and to associate himself actively with the development of lawn tennis in India. Major C. K. Nayadu, India's Test Captain, is on

his personal staff, and Captain H. C. Dhanda and Mr. J. C. Kaul, two other celebrities in the cricket world, hold important appointments in his State.

KALAT

The work of repairing earthquake havoc in Kalat State continues to make satisfactory progress, according to a high officer of the State.

The amount granted by the Government of India to the State as a gift for this work was Rs. 1,65,000 out of which Rs. 1,00,000 had to be spent on the construction of 2,400 earthquake-proof huts.

The next highest amount, Rs. 50,000, has been spent on the repairs of the 80 *Karezes* which form the chief source of water supply for cultivation and which had been seriously damaged by the earthquake.

The *Rabi* crop reaped after the earthquake in July last was exceptionally good and the cultivator has been able to recover to some extent the loss caused during the disaster.

COCHIN

It is reported that a satisfactory solution has been reached of the the Cochin harbour tangle and the fourth stage in the harbour's development operation will shortly be proceeded with. An agreement has been reached over the vexed question of jurisdiction, thanks to the able and persuasive representation of Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, to Lord Willingdon's Government, between that Government and the Governments of Cochin and Travancore, Cochin's sovereignty over the port has been recognised and it will not have to cede its jurisdiction over any part of it. On the question of the future revenues from the port the settlement is purported to be as follows : Cochin will have one-third of the customs revenue up to a maximum of Rs. 63 lakhs plus 10 per cent over all excess ; Travancore will receive one-third up to a maximum of Rs. 49.5 lakhs and 6 per cent over all excess. It is hoped that authoritative statements in confirmation of the above and giving details of the settlement will shortly be released to the public.

REWA

In opening the Dussera session of the Rewa Legislative Council, His Highness the Maharaja surveyed the progress made in the State during the last few years.

In the course of his review His Highness stated that the construction of a Railway line as well as the extension of the Telephone system so as to connect several other outlying parts in the State was under consideration of his Government.

"All progress depends on the improvement in the means of communication", declared the Maharaja, "and from the very beginning of my reign, special measures have been taken in this direction." The total length of roads have been more than trebled during the last decade, His Highness's Government have chalked out an ambitious programme of road construction for the next year. Referring to the progress of education and recent educational developments in the state, His Highness

said that the local girls' school would be raised to the high school standard next year.

ALWAR

Speculation regarding the future of the Maharaja of Alwar has been set at rest by the announcement made at a Durbar held under orders of the Government of India by Mr. Ogilvie, Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana.

Mr. Ogilvie announced, "The scheme for relieving the indebtedness of the State will necessitate the continuance of Government control for at least 15 years and the Government of India can see no prospect of the Maharaja's return to Alwar within that period."

MAYURBHANJ

That attempts to organise the State forests, which comprise 2,200 out of 4,243 sq. miles of State area, on a scientific basis are being attended with success is revealed by the preliminary report of the forest administration of the Mayurbhanj State during 1934-35. The Reserve forests cover about 33 per cent of the State area and the Sal timber obtained therefrom constitute the chief source of the State revenue. The authorities have been devising ways and means to prevent forest fires whose number is on the increase.

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The State Medical Department has been carrying on a strong anti-leprosy campaign in the Sadar and Kaptipada subdivisions by providing for treatment of that fell disease on modern scientific lines at the three leprosy clinics in the State and the State Leper Asylum and conducting propaganda through the distribution of leprosy pamphlets and delivery of leprosy lectures with the help of lantern slides, etc. In 1934-35 for which a report of the Department's activities has been published, two full courses of training were held for a month each. At the Baripada clinic, laboratory work and preparation of special drugs for injection were systematically done once a week.

The total attendance (including 793 new cases) of new and old cases at the three leprosy clinics and the State Leper Asylum was 16,728, of which 11,640 were men, 4,555 women and 538 children. Rs. 6156-2-8 was spent by the Department during the year.

LIMBDI

Archæological excavations by the Government archæologist Mr. Madhu Sarup Vat have resulted in the find of some fine specimens of prehistoric ceramic art in Kathiawar in the village of Rangpur in Limbdi. The terra-cottas and other relics attest to a high degree of artistic skill and individuality and are expected to throw considerable light on the history and culture of Kathiawar in the period intervening between the dates of the Indus Valley and Harappa artifacts.

PUDUKOTTAH

The report on the working of the Land Revenue Department for 1344 F. shows that owing to severe drought and the consequent failure of crops and shrinkage in the cultivated area, during the year 50 per cent of the assessment on ayan wet lands and certain classes of inam wet lands was remitted and numerous relief works were started.

The concessions granted to the ryots in the previous Fasli were continued and in addition a remission amounting to Rs. 2.63 lakhs and representing 50 per cent of the assessment was granted on art lands which failed to yield a four anna crop. Recovery of instalments of agricultural loans from the ryots due during the Fasli was suspended. Distrant of cattle for areas of land revenue was propibited.

The land revenue demand during the year was Rs. 6.78 lakhs against Rs. 10.22 lakhs of the previous year. Of this only Rs. 5.31 lakhs (78.34 per cent of the total demand) were collected or adjusted. The expenditure of the department amounted to Rs. 1.99 lakhs against Rs. 1.92 lakhs in the previous Fasli.

TRIPURA

His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura has accorded sanction to the establishment of a college at Agartala. The college, it is now provisionally settled, will be an Intermediate one and will involve an expenditure of some four lakhs of rupees.

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The entire cost of constructing the first Hindu temple in London will be defrayed by H. H. the Maharaja of Tripura, who is the Vice-President of the London Gaudiya Mission Society inaugurated by Swami Bon. His Highness has also promised help towards establishing in London a home for the diffusion of the spiritual culture of India in the West.

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The annual administration report of the State for the year 1933-34 shows that the Durbar extended during the year every possible help to the State people in tiding over the acute economic depression which continued to hold them in its tight grip. Although the prices of almost every agricultural produce of the State—paddy jute, mustard, til, sugarcane, cotton etc. continued to go down during the year, attempts were made to improve the condition of the agriculturists by carrying on a strong propaganda for the introduction of improved and new varieties of sugarcane, cereals, silk and vegetable. The tea industry, for which the soil, rainfall and climate conditions are particularly suitable, was fostered by the State even at the expense of a large slice of land revenue. The State, for example, had not a moment's hesitation in granting relief to those owners of tea-estates who, under pressure of the tea restriction scheme, had prayed for it through relinquishment of portions of uncultivated land. As against this loss and an arrear of over 2 lakhs in

land revenue due to the closing of a number of tea concerns, the Government earned during the year increased customs revenue through increased export and an enhanced export duty, as compared with the previous two years. Barring primary agricultural products, the home spun fabrics by the Manipuris and other hill people constituted the most important article of export.

The depression hit education, particularly that of the primary type. The total number of schools, including private schools, was 184 during the year as against 205 in the previous year and the number of pupils in them 8,342 against 9,623. There were five High Schools, all affiliated to the Calcutta University, and the number of pupils receiving secondary education rose from 1410 to 1488 during the year. There were 9 Middle English Schools for boys and 1 for girls with 1092 and 77 pupils respectively, on the rolls. Training was imparted in the various useful arts in Woodburn Artisan School and the Shilpasram. The State expenditure on education was Rs. 1½ lakhs.

The Medical Department continued to render a good account of itself by running efficiently its three departments—Allopathic, Homeopathic and Ayurvedic—with their 18 dispensaries including the Victoria Memorial Hospital at Agartala. The number of out-patients treated in the year was 1,30,193 and that of indoor patients 887. A new centre was opened during the year for the treatment of Kala-azar. Two leprosy clinics were opened as a result of the investigations carried out at the instance of the British Empire Leprosy Association, Bengal Branch. The department involved the State in an expenditure of Rs. 65,329.

The State's solicitude for the welfare of its emigrants and immigrants is expressed in the creation of a separate department under the charge of Manybara Rana Sahib Bodhjunga Bahadur, Chief Secretary to His Highness's Government. The activities of the department as recorded in the report, included frequent inspection of areas inhabited by the immigrants and provision of amenities and conveniences to them through the construction of roads, bridges, etc.

The State has extensive Zemindaries in British India and during the year 1932-33 the receipts from the same were Rs. 9.29 lakhs as against the revenue receipts from the State itself of Rs. 19.10 lakhs. The expenditure during the same year was Rs. 10.04 lakhs for the Zemindaries and Rs. 18.95 lakhs for the State. The position did not improve during the year under review. A loan of 9 lakhs of rupees has been taken from the Government of India for the liquidation of the old debts of the State and for the stabilisation of its finances.

BONAI

The Dashara week in Bonai State saw a varied round of festivities, sports, literary and musical competitions, dramatic performances and an art and industries exhibition. Respectable guests from Bamra, Talcher and Palla-hara States and from Sambalpur visited Bonaigarh during the occasion.

The closing observances were the "Dasharavisheka", Dashara procession and a Darbar at the Rajbati. Prizes at the various competitions and certificates to exhibitors were distributed by the Raja Sahib himself at the end of the festivities.

When most States have, as a result of continued and severe economic depression, been compelled to look to ways of retrenchment and make cuts in the salaries of their officers, the Bonai authorities have happily been able to increase further the emoluments of their staff. This, it is said, has been rendered possible by an appreciable increase in the State revenues due to the *Nayabadi* Settlement operations.

The Abyssinian War is being held responsible for a sudden increase in the number of applications for leases for the mining of manganese. Steatite (soft white stone) is already being worked by Dr. T. Das Gupta, Ph. D., D.I.C.



KHANDADHAR FALLS IN BONAI
A DROP OF 800 FEET

The Raja Sahib has been elected a member of the Eastern States Forest School Managing Committee.

Having recently made his half-yearly inspection of all State Departments, he has ordered the introduction of the Secretariat system in the English Office.

The State has reserved an extensive tract of land bounded on three sides by the Brahmani river and with the Khandadhar waterfall in the distance for an aerodrome at Bonaigarh which lies on the Calcutta-Bombay Trunk Road.



Matters of Moment



THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR

In the first week of October, Italy declared war on Abyssinia. As predicted by competent observers, she waited only for the rains to cease, and as soon as that happened, set her armies in motion, quite indifferent to all the upheavals at Geneva. The main attack has been launched from Eretria, though minor operations are also in progress on the Somaliland frontier. Adowa has been captured thus partly avenging the disaster of 1896, and the Italians are busy consolidating the position prior to launching their next attack.

While men are busy cutting each other's throats on the sands of a distant African desert, things have been moving fast in the peaceful halls of Geneva. For the first time in its chequered history, the League has taken action against an aggressor. Italy has been promptly named the aggressor without a dissent, and the League has voted sanctions. At present the sanctions are economic, but they might develop into military ones at any moment. The League has asked its members to stop giving credit facilities to Italy, to stop export of arms to Italy, to lift the embargo on the export of arms to Abyssinia, to close their markets to Italian imports, and to stop the export of any key products to Italy. Austria, Hungary and Albania have dissociated themselves from the sanctions, but the other members, under the persistent pressure of Britain, and the warm approval of Russia, are adopting them gradually. It would not be long before the ring of economic sanctions is complete.

It is extremely cheering to find the League mobilising its forces for the poor Ethiopians, but the fact that there has been even more flagrant cases of aggression and the League has not moved, makes the whole thing rather sinister. When in 1932, Japan violated the sanctity of China, scrapped half-a-dozen treaties and laughed the whole world in the face, the League did not move. Was it because Japan was too wild a cat for the League to bell? In 1932, U. S. A. was willing to interfere, the minor members of the League were as to-day, extremely vituperative against the aggressor, Russia was favourable. Yet nothing was done. Today, though nobody's vital interests would be affected except England's if Italy occupies Abyssinia, the League is, for the first time in fifteen years, mobilising its forces. This lends colour to the Italian accusation that all the talk about peace and collective security at Geneva is sheer bosh and what we are witnessing

today, is a brilliant feat of diplomacy by England, who is using the League as a cat's paw to safeguard her own imperial interests.

It is extremely difficult to say whether Italy's adventure in Africa will develop into a world conflict and Wal-wal will be another Serajevo. As we have observed before, everything hinges on the attitude of France. Though economic sanctions against Italy have been voted, and are being gradually applied, there are few who think that they would be effective. It appears from the tone of the Italian press and from Mussolini's own statement that "Italy will meet economic hostilities with economic measures only", that Italy is fully prepared to cope with this economic boycott. Economic sanctions, to be effective, must be thorough and complete, and there is little chance that they can be made thorough and complete in this case without a systematic land and naval blockade of Italy, which it would be almost impossible to bring about. It is only in the event of the Abyssinian war continuing for an unduly long time, and developing into something like a second Boer war, that the economic strain will become too heavy for Italy. But there is little chance of any such eventuality. Italy is fully prepared to carry on the operation for one year at least in the face of economic isolation and long before that period elapses Abyssinian resistance will collapse and the unity that has been created among the League powers vanish away before some new international development. One year is too long a period for the world to remain quiet to give England time to make Italy feel the economic pressure.

So it is more than possible that England will try to coerce Italy through military sanctions which will mean war. If England has her way with the League, there is every possibility of Mussolini's African adventure developing into a world war. The indications are that England will most probably have her way with the League, unless the French stiffen up. As we have said already whether there will be a general conflagration or not depends on the attitude of France. Will France, in exchange of a verbal promise of British help against Germany, break with Italy, with whom she entered into a definite alliance early this year, throw her into the arms of Germany, and thus bring about the consolidation of that very central European block joining Warsaw, Budapest, Vienna, Rome, and Berlin, which General Gombos, the Hungarian Premier has predicted, or will she remain true to her Latin sister and alienate England for Italian support against Germany? It is extremely difficult to answer the question, but self-interest dictates France to adopt the latter alternative. It seems to be becoming more and more clear that the possible line of German expansion will lie in the East, in the Balkans and in Russia; and there, Italy, whose interests are directly involved in that region, will be of substantial help to France, while England, whose interests lie in Belgium and north-eastern France, will refuse to interfere at all, however great a power she might be. In fact, it is widely held in well-informed circles that England is quite favourable to the idea of German expansion in the East at

the expense of the Bolsheviks and there are not a few who think that the idea of eastward German expansion was first suggested to Berlin from London.

So the indications are that France would refuse to apply military sanctions against Italy, and without France, England will never go into war if she can prevent it. It is not England's tradition to fight a continental power without allies, the memories of the only war she fought alone—the American War of Independence—not being very happy ones. But the ways of Politics are devious, and though the chances are that the conflict will remain localised, a general conflagration is, by no means, impossible or even improbable.

GERMANY LEAVES THE LEAGUE

While the attention of the whole world is focussed on the unknown shores of Africa, an event of tremendous international significance is passing away unnoticed. On the 20th of October last, Germany has ceased to be a member of the League of Nations, when her two years' notice expired. It was thought in some quarters that as she owed £300,000 to the League, she will perforce have to remain a member for some time after the expiry of the notice, for in her present financial stringency, she will find it hard to pay up such a heavy sum. But a week before the second anniversary of her notice to leave the League, she paid up all her arrears and made herself ready to resume the "law of jungle."

As before 1914, Germany has become once again the storm-centre of European politics. Germany in her "shinning armour" and with her "mailed fist" is out for her place in the sun, and all her neighbours are anxiously watching for the strokes of her "Machtpolitik" and looking to their defence. Where and when will Germany open her game—this is the question which is agitating the chancellaries of Europe. So far, even during the four hectic years of Nazi rule, she has been busy building up her military power and consolidating her international position. All the resources of the German State, in men and material, have been mobilized and dragooned into the building up of one great military machine. Party has been crushed that power may be concentrated, thought has been crushed that power may be unchallenged, religion has been crushed that power may be ruthless. She has an army numerically the strongest in Europe except the Russian, an air-fleet which is fast increasing, a navy which is being steadily added to. She devotes more than 50 per cent of her budget to armaments, and while trade is drying up and finances are dwindling, aeroplanes and tanks and machine-guns are multiplying fast.

But against whom is this military machine, built at such haste and with so much sacrifice, going to be set in motion? Hitler has himself declared that now that the Saar question is satisfactorily settled, there is no outstanding territorial issue between Germany and France. On the other hand he is never tired of expressing his hatred of Russia and the principle she stands for. Fascist Germany is out to destroy this dragon of Bolshevism. With this end in view, she has made a ten-year non-aggression pact with Poland, under which European statesmen are scenting a political alliance. 'She is hand-in-gloves with Hungary, which is the other dissatisfied power in Europe, out to overthrow the *status quo* in Europe, and it is widely suspected that she has an understanding with Japan, now completely under the control of her jingoistic military staff, against Russia. True, the revival of the Pan-German movement and Germany's designs upon Austria has alienated Italy. But Hitler seems to be bent upon making good this loss. While the Western Powers have been busy over Italy's escapades in Africa, Germany, it is said, had been trying to build up an alliance with Austria and secure a non-aggression pact with Belgium. From the beginning of October, Herr Von Papen has been busy manoeuvring in Vienna, it is believed, for an alliance with Austria. If successful, this will bring into being a great quadruple alliance between Germany, Poland, Hungary and Austria, whose express aim is war and territorial aggrandisement principally at the expense of Soviet Russia, and also of Czecho-slovakia and Roumania.

It would be idle to deny that, barring the intervention of other Powers, Germany has every means of realising her dreams of eastward expansion. The Russian colossus, with her weak military foundation and her weaker economic structure will collapse between a combined German-Japanese attack. As to the other powers, England, it is widely believed in well-known circles, is favourable to German expansion at the expense of Soviet Russia. Sometime ago, Karl Radek, regarded as the ablest political writer among the Bolsheviks, pointed out that England, while opposed to the idea of German expansion westward to Channel ports and the shores of Belgium and Holland, will welcome a German expansion into Russian territory as that will, on the one hand, make Germany content and, on the other, cripple those hated Bolsheviks, whom England cannot directly reach. Italy will not intervene if Austria is safe, and at any rate she is too weak to effectively check such a powerful combination. Then remains only France. Hitler is of course eager to keep France neutral, but France cannot, and knows she cannot, allow Germany to expand and increase her power, and to turn upon her next at her own leisure. She knows that it is only the French Army which stands between Germany and European supremacy, which involves world supremacy, and that she must do what she did in 1924, again, if the occasion arises. The Franco-Russian alliance is there to declare to Europe and the world that the sweep of the German legion in the east will involve the rolling of the French army in the west.

JAPAN PREPARING FOR "DER TAG"

Some years after the War, a document, known as the Tanaka plan, was published in America, which was declared to embody a detailed plan of imperialist expansion. The document outlined a plan of Japanese expansion in the East to be achieved in four successive stages. First Manchuria and North China, then the Russian maritime provinces, then South China and East India, Australia and the Pacific islands, should be brought under the orbit of the "Rising Sun". When the document was first held before the world in the American press, as embodying the schemes of Imperialist Japan, there were few who regarded it seriously. It seemed incredible that Japan, a petty island in the Pacific should dare to dream dreams so colossal which were sure to bring her into clash with Russia, with England, with America. But much has happened since the early twenties to shake us out of our blind sense of security. We have already witnessed the carrying out of the first stage of the Tanaka plan, and we are on the eve of witnessing the carrying out of the second. Japan has already occupied Manchuria, Jehol, Peking and Tientsin, and the portents are thickening in the East which indicate that the next round with Russia is fast approaching.

It was thought that the sale of the Soviet Government's share of ownership of Chinese Eastern Railway, consummated after long and difficult negotiations in March last, would usher in a new era of peace and goodwill between Soviet and Japan. But several months have now passed, and Soviet-Japanese relations are as bad as ever, if not worse and the Japanese military staff is spending every penny they can lay their hands on, for armaments.

The clearest indication that Soviet-Japanese relations are not all that should be, is the maintenance of the unusually large Russian military establishment, east of Lake Baikal. The Soviet Far Eastern Army, with its headquarters at Khabarovsk, is estimated to possess a strength of about 200,000 soldiers with a large complement of tanks, armoured cars and fighting planes. Strong steel and concrete fortifications have been erected at accessible points along the Manchuko-Siberian frontiers. The tension of this heavily armed frontier, which Russia, deeply suspicious of Japanese designs, is fortifying more and more, is felt throughout the Far East.

But it is not the sea-board and the mineral resources of Siberia alone, which are tempting the Japanese military staff. Japan's eyes are also fixed on Outer Mongolia. The Japanese General Staff realises that Outer Mongolia, which is now virtually Russian Protectorate, is now the only great channel of communication between Russia and China, and its occupation by Japan will not only give Japan valuable economic and mineral resources, but by completely severing all channels of communication between Russia and China, would for ever put beyond the limit of possibility any military alliance between China and Russia. The danger of such an alliance is never minimised by the Japanese General Staff who realise full well

that any such military combination, will, unless ripped in the bud, put an end to Japanese imperial dreams for ever. For Japan, with her weaker financial resources would not be able to face the hostility of the Anglo-Saxon powers, if her flank is threatened by a such a dangerous military alliance. It is the consciousness of this position, which determines Japan to settle her accounts with Russia, before entering into final round with the naval powers. A year after the Washington Naval Agreement, a celebrated member of the pre-war Russian General staff pointed out that the only way in which the Japanese bid for hegemony in the far and middle East can be foiled is through an alliance between England, U. S. A. and Russia, but there is as yet no signs of any such development though the Japanese menace is drawing nearer day by day. It seems that England and America are going to repeat the mistake of France in 1866.

Meanwhile from Japan comes reports of the ruthless and the reckless way in which the Japanese military and naval staffs are preparing for "Der Tag". While the national debt stands at a colossal figure and the budget prospects unusually gloomy, the Japanese military staff have prepared a five-year plan for the army, involving a total expenditure of 900 million yen, to be put into operation from the coming fiscal year. The remonstrances of Mr. Takahashi, the Finance Minister, that this will heavily unbalance an already overstrained budget, that the military will be eating up more than 50 per cent of the total budget, have no effect on General Hayashi, the Minister of War who is determined 'to provide for all contingencies.'

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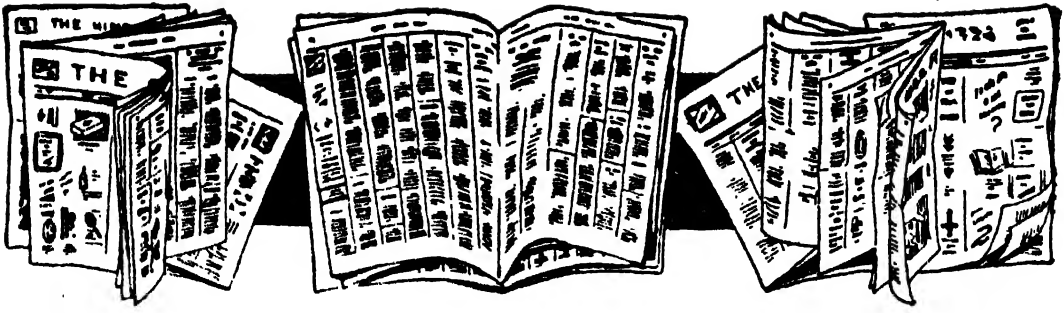
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Gleanings

INDIA BEARING GIFTS

Writing under the above caption in the October issue of *India and the World*, Prof. George P. Conger of the University of Minnesota describes the fourfold gifts that India brings to the nations of the world :

First India brings *sustained traditions*. In spite of accretions and excrescences, and even throughout the course of changes and improvements, there will always be a certain high continuity in Indian life and thought. India will always speak with her immemorial past echoing and amplifying her present words. As the West comes to know India better, part of the reverent attachment which modern Western peoples feel for the cultures of Rome and Greece will be transferred to the cognate, but still more ancient, and through the centuries better sustained culture of ancient India. India will never be more than superficially or artificially westernized. She will be more like modern China (taking for granted that China will find a way out of present difficulties) than like modern Japan, and will be content with using Western appliances without giving way to the frame of mind which such appliances too often seem to entail.

Second, India seems particularly fitted to express to the world the note of *simplicity of living*. In spite of profundity of mind and here and there some luxury of material things, India's millions will remain, like her saints and sages, fundamentally simple, unaffected, unencumbered. Untold millions of her people will never earn more than a pittance, and their living must always be the plain bare living of the poor. But those poor will be stronger of body and richer in mind than they now are. Free from Western artificialities, they will be able to cultivate their native arts, to live in their own ways, and much more nearly to achieve the virtues of contentment. And by a kind of human induction, the virtues of contentment, when achieved by one people, will spread from man to man and from nation to nation, imparting their realignment to the tangled lines of human thought and effort. In the West, our great Bergson, looking over the world with the eye of a master, tells us that we are living in a frenzy, a frenzy which cannot go on, but must give place to calmness and composure. And the Gospel of Luke says that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.

In the third place, India can exemplify a certain saving *detachment*. This is close to what we have said about simplicity of living, but even the simplicity of the poor may be too much engrossed in its small and petty details. It is not for naught that a hundred generations of men in India have been trained to ideals of renunciation and have learned to fix their eyes upon things not seen as yet by those around them. Under varying conditions, detachment may be a negative virtue, or even a vice. But the utter lack of it means loss of vision, and where there is no vision, men and nations perish.

And finally, India stands for what we may best call *comprehension*. This is not merely, understanding, although understanding is an element within the larger comprehension or comprehensiveness which is essential to Indian life. Indian thought, to us of the West, is often vague, as the ocean is vague when seen from

a great height. But Indian life is inclusive, comprehensive, with room for all forms of thought, just as the ocean has room for every current in its all-embracing unity. We of Europe and America see religion and morals through the eyes of the Semites, and we see art, and often economics and politics, too, through the eyes of the Greeks. But beyond the Persian Gulf lies India, with many a broader horizon and less restricted outlook. In some parts of America, one is regarded as anything from liberal and tolerant to dangerously broad when he fraternizes religiously with members of Christian denominations other than his own, to say nothing of Catholic Christians or of Jews. India, at her best, can furnish a gentle but powerful solvent for the narrowness and bigotry which hinder the spread of true and undefiled religion.

For the fullest benefit of these gifts what is essential is contact : in all the countries men who love these things must actively promote them. Prof. Conger concludes :

But these gifts of India, these leaves of the tree for the healing of the nations are no legacies from the dead or the dying. The nation which bears them cannot die ; it is even kept alive partly by means of them. India, after all, is not like a chinar, but like a banyan—one of her own great banyans, whose branches are putting forth not merely the leaves of a season, but the roots of a new generation, different and yet the same. Some day the soil of the world will be more receptive than it is at present, and new life will come from undying India.

GANDHIAN IDEAL OF TRUSTEESHIP

Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose publishes an interesting report of his interview with Mahatma Gandhi at his Wardha Ashram in November last year in the *Modern Review* for October. The discussion turned, among other things, on the question whether love or non-violence was compatible with possession or exploitation in any form and, if the answer was in the negative, whether Gandhiji would advocate the maintenance of private ownership of land as a necessary evil. Gandhiji said :

Love and exclusive possession can never go together. Theoretically when there is perfect love, there must be perfect non-possession.

In actual life, we can hardly exercise perfect love, for the body as a possession will always remain with us. Man will ever remain imperfect. So that perfection in love or non-possession will remain an unattainable ideal as long as we are alive, but towards which we must ceaselessly strive.

Those who own money now, are asked to behave like trustees holding their riches on behalf of the poor. You may say that trusteeship is a legal fiction. But if people meditate over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be governed far more by love than it is at present. Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point, and is equally unattainable. But if we strive for it, we shall be able to go further in realizing a state of equality on earth than by any other method.

Asked why he would put up with private possession knowing it to be incompatible with non-violence, Mahatmaji said :

That is a concession one has to make to those who earn money but who would not voluntarily use their earnings for the benefit of mankind.

Asked if he would have State ownership in place private property and thus minimise violence, he said :

It is better than private ownership. But that too is objectionable on the ground of violence. It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself, and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship.

Again,

I would be very happy indeed if the people concerned behaved as trustees; but if they fail, I believed we shall have to deprive them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence. That is why I said at the Round Table Conference that every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered where necessary—with or without compensation as the case demanded.

What I would personally prefer would be not a centralization of power in the State, but an extension of the sense of trusteeship; as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State-ownership.

It was suggested that the fundamental difference between him and the Socialists was that he believed that men lived more by self-direction or will than by habit and they believed that men lived more by habit than by will and that was the reason why he strove for self-correction while they tried to build up a system under which men would find it impossible to exercise their desire for exploiting others. Mahatmaji said :

While admitting that man actually lives by habit, I hold that it is better for him to live by the exercise of will. I also believe that men are capable of developing their will to an extent that will reduce exploitation to a minimum. I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality, which lies at the root of all progress. We know of so many cases where men have adopted trusteeship, but none where the State has really lived for the poor.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN INDIA

Speaking of the services of social insurance in general and the position of such insurance in India, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar writes in the current number of the *Indian Review* :

The countries such as have been used to social insurance legislation for some long time and in an extensive manner have naturally advanced far in the line of insurance companies. They are equally well equipped with strong labour movements. On the other hand, the employers in these countries have got used to consider the prevalent wage-levels to be much too low for the employees and the premia as really "supplement" wages. Besides, in these countries the wages earned by the individual workingmen are being keyed up to the levels high enough for "family maintenance" by means of benefits enjoyable not only by the insured but by the insured's family as well.

Society, constituted as it is to-day, comprises two classes of needy persons. First come those who are conventionally known by the vague category, the poor or the destitute. Secondly, come all the wage-earners and salaried men and women in diverse occupations, who still are held to be poor enough to need the supplementary earnings such as are derived from social insurance.

Social insurance is thus but another agent,—chronologically perhaps the last agent,—in the campaign of mankind against eternal poverty. No economic, social or legal measure ought therefore to arrest the attention of Indian publicists and welfare workers more than that embodied in social insurance. It is just the instrument calculated to raise India to the level of the latest discovered equipment in regard to the war against poverty.

In regard to social insurance, the primitiveness of Indian conditions is patent on the surface. In February 1935, the Legislative Assembly accepted the verdict of the Royal Commission on Labour in India to the effect that she was not yet ripe for unemployment insurance. Invalidity Insurance is not yet talked of. The Workingmen's Compensation Act, 1923, was considerably amended in 1933, and embodies the provisions for workingmen against accident. And as for health insurance nothing is known

except the Maternity Benefit Acts of the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces. A recommendation of the Royal Commission ran to the effect that in the event of any general scheme of social insurance being adopted, maternity benefits should be incorporated, and the cost shared by the state, the employer and the workers. But that recommendation has not yet been considered by the Legislature.

On the other hand, as for the workmen themselves, their attitude *vis-a-vis* social insurance does not indicate any "ripeness" of mentality or organisation either. The primitiveness of Indian labour force is perhaps nowhere more manifest than in the vagueness of ideas prevalent among the workmen concerning their proper sphere of activity and propaganda. The very fact that Indian workmen continue still to enthuse over omnibus resolutions of an all-sweeping character points inevitably to the fact that labour in India is yet in its non-age.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING

"Co-operation is henceforth the specific remedy for curing many diseases paralysing the Indian marketing movement", says Mr. C. Sriram, M.A., in the pages of the *Mysore Economic Journal*. "It is the only principle which can eliminate the middleman from the present economic system. It is a new force to rouse up the corporate spirit among the Indian cultivators."

Co-operative marketing [Mr. Sriram continues] is briefly defined as "marketing by and for the farmer." The co-operative marketing societies are bound by the following main principles :—

1. Nominal rates of interest alone shall be paid on the capital invested.
2. The share-holding capacity of a member shall be limited to a fraction of the total capital.
3. A member's freedom of transferring shares shall be restricted.
4. The membership is open to all producers of the commodity handled by the society.
5. Every member shall have a vote and hence, the one-man-one-vote principle.

Mr. Micheal Murphy enumerates the marketing services essentially rendered by a co-operative society: (i) Assembling, (ii) Grading, (iii) Packaging, (iv) Processing, (v) Financing, (vi) Storage, (vii) Transportation, and (viii) Distributing.

(i) *Assembling* the produce is the very first concern of an agricultural marketing society. It is meant to provide a variety of products for the careful selection of the consumer and eventually to maintain the price-level of all such commodities for the express advantage of the producer.

(ii) *Grading* of farm produce is uniquely associated with assembling. It consists of sorting the products into heaps of uniform kind, size and quality. It facilitates commerce by reducing the costs of transportation to a minimum and by quickening the passage of the produce through various channels. It also enables the consumer to satisfy his tastes and interest. Finally, what is most important is the rapidity with which it enhances the reputation of farm products in world markets.

(iii) *Packaging* has been scientifically studied in view of the enormous importance of our national exports. Thus packages are being standardized for catering to the tastes of the consumer. It is highly necessary to make them as attractive as possible for there is the competing individual seller at every step.

(iv) *Processing* of farm produce is indispensable in so far as it raises the general standard of consumption. No agricultural product is directly consumable *in toto*; in fact, a large part of it should be convertible into several forms. For example, tobacco should be made into cigars, cigarettes and snuff, or fruit into

canned stuff, to make them more and more consumable. It is for public benefit if a co-operative society manages its own processing plant, for the private manufacturers may neglect the quality of the outturn.

(v) *Financing* a co-operative society for conducting the marketing operations is the basic problem before us. Usually, the shareholders of the society provide the fixed capital although the circulating capital for working out its mechanism can be supplied by neighbouring credit institutions.

(vi) *Storage* secures the best possible price for a commodity by means of an adequate supply in times of scarcity. The Indian farmers have not yet renounced the primitive methods of storage resulting in heavy damage to their produce. Modern usage of either grain elevators or licensed warehouses is quite unknown to these men of low purchasing power. The North-Western Railway has already provided ice-cold vans for the transport of fruit; but a more widespread utilization of the cold storage process is essential to accelerate their demand abroad.

(vii) *Transportation* facilitates even consumption by distributing the rural surplus produce among the needy consumers of the urban area. If an urban co-operative society owns or takes for rent a motor lorry for the speedy transport of farm produce, marketing can be advanced to a large extent.

(viii) The *distributing* capacity of an association mostly depends upon the quality of organization helping such process. In the interests of both economy and efficiency, an organization essentially centralized in its form rather than federal is necessary for our co-operative marketing societies.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Dr. P. Gopala Krishnayya, M. A., M SC., PH. D., has contributed to the *Hindustan Review* a very interesting and instructive article on the above subject based on the findings of the research initiated by Dr. E. L. Thorndike of Columbia University.

It would appear [says Dr. Krishnayya] that there are two factors which determine the learning power of the individual at any one time. The first factor is the factor of maturing. By this I mean that the learning mechanisms, sense organs, motor organs, nervous system (especially the brain) mature rapidly between the ages of six and twenty-two. With each degree of maturity more things can stimulate the individual and more complex responses may be made. This factor of maturing operates very markedly through the period of adolescence in the increase of learning ability and gradually becomes less potent as the individual approximates the age of twenty-two or twenty-five.

The second factor operating to increase learning ability is the factor of training. It would be too technical and too long a discussion to show at this time how past learning experiences operate to make further learning more readily possible. The fact remains, however, that our past learning experiences do operate to increase learning power. This second factor, therefore, becomes increasingly more prominent as the first factor begins to decline, with the net result that at maturity the first factor begins to fade out and the second one remains so effective as to keep learning at approximately an even level for years to come. The story as here presented would seem to indicate that learning can and should remain a continuous process. The idea that an early education should provide one with all the knowledge and skills which one needs for life is no doubt fallacious. If education can be so conducted as to create a passion for learning and a life-long habit to learn, it justifies itself. The educated person is one who has early formed that habit and is willing to continue the practice of learning throughout his life of maturity.

There are certain other aspects of adult learning which should be brought to notice because they do affect our efforts in the education of fully matured individuals. The first of these is that for most grown-up people learning opportunities are greatly narrowed down as they grow older. This is due to the fact that the adult

is usually rather heavily burdened with responsibilities of an economic or social nature which preclude that freedom so necessary to successful mental enterprises. Furthermore, the tasks confronting the adult are usually narrowed down and confined to some business or trade restricting learning activities to smaller areas.

A second aspect of adult learning is that the grown-up individual manifests much great impatience in learning than does the youth. He usually does not undertake new learning enterprises until such learning becomes absolutely imperative. Then he seeks to get immediate results. Finding himself making only normal progress he becomes impatient and feels that he should achieve results much more rapidly.

The third aspect of adult learning is the ease with which the matured individual becomes discouraged. If after a few years of graduation from the High school or college he turns back to his studies and discovers that there are many things which he no longer controls in a practical way, he feels that he has "forgotten everything he ever learned." As a matter of fact, the amount of loss through the years of disuse may really have been very little and a few hours or weeks of serious study would probably re-establish him in the subject.

A fourth aspect of adult learning is one which is brought out very clearly by Dr. Thorndike, namely, that the adult is usually quite sensitive to the opinions of others. Adults usually have won for themselves a certain place of respect and esteem which they guard rather jealously, and the fear that some of their own learning acts may reveal lack of ability which would injure their self-esteem keeps them frequently from making a sincere effort.

In general, if we were to fall back into the order of psychological terminology, we might state that memory remains approximately the same between the age of maturity and the age of forty-five, and thinking and reasoning ability are but little impaired. In practical problems, requiring the use of past experience, thinking and reasoning ability may even be found to be superior. Certain characteristics of carelessness and impulsiveness manifested so frequently by adolescents are apt to be as prominent in adults as in younger people.

With these facts concerning the learning of adults before us, we may draw some practical conclusions.—(1) Adult education can be attempted much more hopefully than we were wont to assume in the past. (2) We know more clearly what the difficulties of adult education are by knowing the peculiar difficulties or obstacles of such learning. (3) We should feel that if a re-education in industry or profession, or mode of life became necessary any time between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five, we should address ourselves to the task with all assurance of success, if we could control the various qualitative factors, that is to say, mere age should not be a deterrent. (4) It also means that those who are conducting adult education should expect matured people up to forty-five to learn "at nearly the same rate and in nearly the same manner as they would have learned the same thing at fifteen or twenty." (5) One might conclude that money invested in adult education projects is not wasted. The chief factors for success in learning are not youth or age, but "capacity, interest, energy, and time." (6) In attempting to classify adults as rapid or slow learners, age is of no practical value. (7) Industry is probably not acting justly in dispensing with the services of old employees when new processes are introduced. The industrial re-education of the matured is probably a completely profitable as well as worthy enterprise. (8) Our conception of education as a preparation for life, equipping a man in youth for all eventualities is no doubt incorrect. Education should start learning in the right direction, should eventuate in ability to carry on learning enterprises independently, should result in creating a high respect for learning. These results are not idealistic but highly probable of attainment. "Too much of what we learn at twenty is out of date at forty" to make us believe in an education which furnishes at twenty all the knowledge and skills essential to a successful life.

Activities of Landholders' Associations

MADRAS LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

Annual Report for 1934-35.

There were two meetings of the General Body of the Association in the course of the year under review. The Special Committee appointed for the purpose drafted and submitted memoranda to the Secretary of State for India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and H. E. the Governor of Madras on the question of the recommendations of the Joint Committee. It was urged that at least at the Parliamentary stage of the Committee Report, justice to the landholders might be done in the shape of an increased representation in the legislatures and by way of a statutory guarantee of the Permanent Settlement. It is to be regretted that the Government of India Act as finally passed is totally disappointing in both respects. Some satisfaction, however, is to be derived from the fact that a Second Chamber is to be constituted in Madras, a measure always advocated by the Association as a necessity. No measures specially affecting the interests of landholders were passed by the local legislature in the course of this Fasli.

The Association entertained at a dinner party His Excellency the Governor and Lady Marjorie Erskine in the month of February, '35. The function was a grand success.

There was no admission of new members in the course of the Fasli. The Association is sadly in need of more members. It is to be hoped that with the coming into effect of the Reforms there would be a wider response from the landholders to our appeal to join the Association and present a united front in safeguarding the legitimate interests and furthering the just aspirations of the landholding community.

Present Office-bearers.

President :—Lt. Col. Sir the Maharajah of Venkatagiri, K.C.I.E., M.L.C.

Vice-Presidents :—Capt. the Rajah of Parlakimedi, M.L.C., the Hon'ble the Rajah of Bobbili, K.C.I.E., the Maharajah of Jeypore and the Rajah of Sivaganga

Members of the Executive Committee :—The Rajah of Challapalli, the Kumara Rajah of Venkatagiri, M. L. C., the Zamindar of Idaiyakottai, the Zamindar of Telaprole, Mr. G. Krishna Rao, Jaghirdar of Myleripalayam and Mr. G. Ramakrishna Row, B. A., B. L., Kumara Zamindar of Pamulapadi (*Honorary Secretary*).

HOOGHLY DISTRICT LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

Its Activities during the year 1934.

The most notable feature of the year's activities is the organisation by the Association of a conference of landholders and tenants of the Hooghly district, in which not only the two interests were well represented but men of all shades of political opinion, local officials and leading non-officials, representatives of local bodies down to the Union Boards and panchayets participated. It was a unique gathering, perhaps the first of its kind in Bengal, when zemindars and tenants met together on a common platform to discuss questions of common interest. The conference passed sixteen resolutions bearing on interests—political, economic and social.

The Association condemned the Lebong outrage and congratulated His Excellency Sir John Anderson on his providential escape. Four of its prominent members represented it at the meeting at which the All-Bengal Anti-Terrorist Conference was organised. Its President, Kumar T. C. Goswami, and Vice-President, Mr. T. N. Mukherjea served on the sub-committee appointed to organise the conference and nine of its influential members headed by Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasay represented it at the conference itself.

The Association persuaded itself of the necessity of establishing a Land Mortgage Bank in the Hooghly district for the relief of the heavily indebted peasants and rent-receivers of the district and adopted a resolution to that effect moved by Mr. Amar Nath Mukherjea. On this matter it has later been informed by the Asst. Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Agriculture and Industries, Co-operative Branch, that when the question of starting a Bank in the Burdwan Division will come up the next time, the case of Hooghly will be duly considered before the final selection. A resolution on this subject was also passed at the conference of landholders and tenants already referred to.

In view of extreme economic depression the Association had, since 1931, been urging on the Government the necessity of either postponement of recovery of the Settlement costs or realisation of the same in easy instalments. By a resolution passed at its committee meeting of the 7th February, it requested the Government "to postpone the recovery of Settlement costs by certificate procedure as it would seriously hamper the realisation of rents by the landholders and thereby imperil the payment of Government Revenue." But the Government in their letter of the 2nd June 1934, informed it that 'they do not consider that under present conditions postponement of realisation of Settlement costs would be justified', that they were watching the situation and would be prepared to consider their decision if there be any definite deterioration of the same. A fresh representation on the question was later made to the Government but only evoked the reply that no general orders could be passed for postponement of the Settlement costs and only in cases of real difficulties payments might be allowed by instalments.

The Association has decided to appoint a Board of Arbitration whenever occasion would arise. In reponse to a proposal emanating from the British Indian Association it has intimated its agreement to get itself affiliated to the British Indian Association on the condition, among others, that it will remain autonomous in its internal organisation and as regards the special problems of the district.

The Association took part in the deliberations of the second session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference, through its representatives and five delegates headed by Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasay. Mr. Amar Nath Mukherjea and Mr. Manmohan Sinha Roy, its Hony. Secretary, were on the sub-committee appointed by the B. I. Association to make arrangements for the session.

The failure of the crops due to inadequate rains in the monsoon alarmed the Association and it requested the Government "to provide facilities for irrigation and to relax the usual terms in view of the exceptional circumstances and in order to prevent famine by making the cultivation of winter crops possible." Unfortunately the Government in their Irrigation Department could not see their way to accede to the request; they have, on the contrary, already enhanced the rate of the irrigation tax.

The Association is thankful to the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division for his letter of the 21st April, 1934, in which he said that it had been included in the Divisional list of recognised Associations maintained by him.

There were five new admissions to the membership list in the period under review.

List of Office-bearers for 1935.

President :—Kumar T. C. Goswami, M. A., Bar-at-law.

Vice-Presidents :—Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, M. A., M. L. C., Raja Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahashai, Rai Bahadur Panna Lal Mukherjee and Babu Tarak Nath Mukherjee, B. Sc.

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer :—Babu Manmohan Sinha Roy

Asst. Hony. Secretaries :—Babu Bhutnath Mukherjee and Babu Jamini Kanto Sinha Roy

Auditor :—Babu Balai Chandra Goswami, B. A.

MYMENSINGH LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

Report for the period Kartick 1341 B.S.—Ashar 1342 B.S.

The Association is now in the tenth year of its existence. In pursuance of a resolution passed at its last Annual General Meeting the membership has been drastically cut down to a number not exceeding fifty, the names of those members who failed to pay up their arrear subscriptions by the end of December, 1934, having been struck off the rolls. In a special session of the same Annual Meeting, the annual membership subscription has been raised from Rs. 6 to Rs. 24; it has also been resolved that members paying Rs. 250 at a time will be considered Life-members, and for every Rs. 250 paid by a Life-member over and above

his own Life-membership fee of Rs. 250, he will be entitled to nominate an extra member. On the basis of these new rules, thirty-eight members, headed by Maharaja Sasikanta Acharjee of Mymensingh, have promised contributions to the tune of Rs. 25,750. Further additions to this sum are expected. The Association thinks that when the contributions reach a total of a lac of rupees, the interest that would accrue to it from any safe investment of the sum would enable it to discharge its functions decently and efficiently.

A noteworthy achievement of the period under review is the settlement of a Civil suit relating to land between the estates of the Late K. G. Gupta (Dacca) and Sj. P. K. Chakravarty, B. L., of Kanihari (Mymensingh) through the mediation of Sj. S. N. Sen, B. L., a Joint Honorary Secretary to the Association. The Association has recently set itself to explore the chances of bringing about a compromise of the suit, now pending, between Sj. Promode Chandra Roy Choudhury, zemindar of Atharabari and Sj. Atul Chandra Chakravarty Choudhury, zemindar of Gaugatia and hopes to succeed in its efforts in that direction.

Prominent among the members who helped the Government work of jute restriction in the district were Maharaja Sasikanta Acharjee of Mymensingh, Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy Choudhury of Gouripur, Sj. Promode Chandra Roy Choudhury of Atharabari and Sj. Surendra Nath Sen, B. L., of Senbari. These gentlemen have distributed from 8 to 10 lacs of sugar-cane cuttings free of cost among the tenants of their own estates.

Sj. Dharendra Kanta Lahiri Choudhury, M. L. A., zemindar of Kalipur and a member of the Association, attended the recent meeting of the Indian Parliamentary Board held in London. Sj. Promode Chandra Roy Choudhury of Atharabari and Sj. Satish Chandra Roy Choudhury M. L. C. joined the last session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference on behalf of the Association.

Insuperable legal difficulties are found to stand in the way of registration of the Association, to which it directed a considerable part of its energies in the past one year. The idea of having it registered has now been given up, but steps are being taken to get it duly recognised by the Government as a responsible and well-established institution.

The accounts of the Association for the period under review show an income of Rs. 2560-13-0, including an opening balance of Rs. 240-1-0, and an expenditure of Rs. 485-5-0.

Office-bearers of the Association

President :—Maharaja Sasi Kanta Acharjee Bahadur.

Vice-Presidents :—Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy Choudhury and Sj. Promode Ch. Roy Choudhury

Secretaries :—Nawabzada Syed Hasan Ali Choudhury and Sj. Surendra Nath Sen, B. L.

Assistant Secretaries :—Sj. Arun Chandra Sinha Bahadur, M. A. and Sj. Subodh Chandra Gupta Baksi, M. A., B. L.

Treasurer—Sj. Jibendra Kishore Acharjee Choudhury, B. Sc.

Members of the Executive Committee :—Maharaj-Kumar Sitansu Kanta Acharjee Choudhury, Kumar Bhupendra Kishore Acharjee Choudhury, Sj. Birendra Narayan Acharjee Choudhury, Kumar Harendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Sj. Kshitish Chandra Choudhury, Sj. Sushil Prasad Lahiri Choudhury, B.L., and Sj. Birendra N. Chakraborty Choudhury, M.A., B.L.

SUNDERBAN LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

Its Activities during April 1934—September 1935.

The Association stepped into the seventh year of its existence in the month of April last. It has all along been fighting for the cause which it stands for in a constitutional way. The Association's constant endeavour is to safeguard the best interests of the people of the Sunderban area by giving vent to their grievances and demands so that they may reach the reluctant ears of the Government of the land. There were 15 Executive Committee meetings and one General Meeting during the period under review, namely, from April, 1934 to September of the current year. In the Executive Committee meetings the discussions mainly turned on the problem of constructive programme. Majority of opinions favoured the establishment of a land mortgage bank for providing agricultural credit to the zemindars and the tillers of the soil of the Sunderbans. Establishment of veterinary hospitals in the rural areas, maintenance of upcountry bulls for efficient cattle breeding, sinking of tubewells, provision of land communication are some of the things that are in contemplation of the Association and it is constantly moving the District Board and the Government for provision of the same.

The Association has also taken upon itself humanitarian service whenever any occasion has demanded. One such occasion arose in the month of August last when a devastating flood of salt water swept away an area of 40 sq. miles of the Sunderbans near Canning. The Association, in collaboration with a local relief committee, took the initiative of relieving the unfortunate sufferers of the flood. It moved both the District Board and the District authorities to provide adequate relief to the people of the stricken area. First and foremost relief, namely, provision of sweet drinking water was at once taken in hand by the Association, District Board (24 Parganas) and the authorities of the District combined. The President of the Association paid a visit to the affected area for gaining a first-hand knowledge of the misery of the people there.

Present Office-bearers.

President :—Kumar H. K. Mitter.

Vice-Presidents :—Mr. G. Benson, Mr. W. C. De. Rai J. C. Sen Bahadur,

Secretaries :—Dr. S. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph. D., F.Z.S., Mr. B. C. Ghose.

Treasurers :—Messrs. David Sassoon & Co. Ltd.

Auditor :—Mr. L. M. Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.

Notes * News * Comments

.Threatened Food Shortage in India

In his latest report to the Government of India, the Public Health Commissioner has drawn attention to the shortage of food in India due to the increasing pressure of population. The Indian birth rate has come up to the average level recorded during the 33 years of the present century, and the slight fall perceptible in 1931 and 1932, which gave rise to high hopes of at last a falling birth-rate having been reached as in the West, is now perceived to have been due to temporary cause. The death-rate on the other hand is continuing in the downward trend which has characterised it since the influenza epidemic of 1918-19.

This continued and unchecked growth of population is becoming a serious menace to India. Since the last census in 1931, nearly 18 millions have been added to the population of India and even on a conservative estimate, it must total 370 millions. By 1941, when next census will be taken, the total will easily pass 400 million figure.

To support this mammoth population, there are only 900 million acres. Leaving the Indian states aside, where the pressure of population on land is considerably less than in British India, we find that there are 667 million acres of land in British India, of which 47 million acres lie fallow, 89 millions consist of forests, 145 millions are not available, 154 millions cultivable but uncultivated, the total cultivated area being 232 million acres. The total population of British India is in the neighbourhood of 270 millions. Even if the whole of 667 million acres were devoted to the raising of food crops, it comes to about 2·4 acres per head ; which might just suffice, but leaves no margin. The total of 667 million acres however can never be devoted to food crops, and a more reasonable assumption will be to take the total of the present cultivated area and the area cultivable but not cultivated. This comes to about 386 million areas and works out at about 1·4 acres per head, which is absolutely insufficient. As the Public Health Commissioner has concluded, it is impossible to provide a sufficiency of food for the present population of India from an acreage of this dimension.

The situation is alarming and calls for prompt and extensive action by the Government supported by the people. The ryots should be taught to resort to intensive cultivation and cheap credit and other facilities should be provided for it. A systematic survey must be made of the land resources of India, and all land not under cultivation, should gradually be brought under it and made available for it. Industries should be developed so that India might, if the need arises, import her foodstuffs in exchange of the manufactured goods. The agricultural resources of the Native

States should be organised and developed, as there the pressure of population is less. Possible outlets for the Indian people, overseas, whether within or without the Empire, should be investigated. And above all, definite steps should be taken to reduce the birth-rate. Nothing will be of any avail in the long run unless that is done, for no of degree of possible increase of productive efficiency will be able, all along, to outweigh an unrestricted increase of population.

Indian Public Schools

The first Public School in India, the Doon School, was opened on the 27th of October by His Excellency the Viceroy at Dehra Doon. Both Sir Frank Noyce in his speech of welcome and, the Viceroy, in his opening speech, declared it to be an educational experiment, which they believed would be of immense value to India in future years.

No one would be more happy than we if His Excellency's faith in the experiment is justified by later event. On all accounts, the educational system in India leaves much to be desired, and it will be a matter of special pride to us, if the way out is found to have been discovered by one of Bengal's great dead, Mr. S. R. Das, the founder of the school, to whom both Sir Frank and the Viceroy, paid a warm tribute. The Public School, however, is a costly experiment, as appears from the history of the institution as briefly narrated by Sir Frank Noyce. The capital expenditure alone absorbed Rs. 9 lakhs and this excluding the free gift, by the Government, of the estate which belonged to the Forest Research Institute. This enormous cost will have to justify itself by fully and faithfully subserving the special aims and requirements which the school is designed to achieve and meet.

The British are a great race, but it would be doing no injustice to them if we say that England has never led the world in matters of education. England owes a heavy debt to Germany in the matter of educational organisation. The English Public School, however much "the playing fields of Eton" might have contributed to the victory of Waterloo cannot be compared with the German Gymnasias and are inferior to the French Lycees. It is being more and more widely recognised in England that the British Public School tends to develop snobbery, class exclusiveness and contempt for those placed in humble surroundings. Would their Indian counterpart at Dehra Doon be able to keep clear of these developments? His Excellency the Viceroy assured us that the education imparted in the Doon School will not be hide-bound but will convey moral discipline and the students thereof will find opportunities for self-denial, leadership, argument, associations, in fact all the aptitudes and forbearances that will be demanded of them in later life. Let us hope that all this promise may come true; but need we remind the authorities in charge of the Institution that a condition of its fulfilment is an intelligent modification of the English system to suit modern Indian conditions and not making the Indian School an exact replica of the English?

Co-operation in Bengal

In his report for the year ending in June 1934, the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Bengal, claims that though no improvement in the financial position of the Societies is yet visible, the deterioration has been arrested and the movement is once again on the upward grade. In these days of all-round depression this is certainly an achievement on which the authorities concerned should be congratulated. Two facts seem to justify the claim of the Registrar. It appears that the percentage of repayment of principal by members of agricultural Societies has shown a slight increase, while the percentage of overdues from the members has shown a slight decrease.

In reviewing the Registrar's report, the Government has pointed out that in spite of this, the situation is disquieting in that the overdues from members amount to Rs. 340 lakhs. The causes for the existence of this large overdue balance are set out by the Government and they disclose the necessity for radical steps to be taken to reform the working of the Societies. It would appear that the village headmen who are big landowners and have a dominant voice in the affairs of the Societies, have taken very large loans, which they are now unable to repay. The rates of interest which the Societies have to pay on loans and deposits to them are very high. Though the Societies' loans were originally advanced only against adequate security, the deterioration in the value of land has made them very inadequate, and proper price cannot now be obtained by the sale of the properties of judgment debtors. All this, combined with the Central Banks' inefficient supervising and collecting system, has given rise to such a heavy overdue balance.

That the lending policy of the Co-operative Societies has not adhered to the fundamental principles of Co-operation, has been widely felt and criticised in Bengal. The essence of Co-operative lending is not merely lending against adequate security, but to lend only against a productive need of the cultivator. Co-operative Societies should never encourage borrowing for unproductive purposes, and it is feared that the Co-operative Societies in this Province have violated this principle in particular.

The Co-operative Department, we are told, has introduced certain reforms. By persuasion and appeal, the rate of interest has been reduced on fixed deposits from $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, on loans to societies from $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $9\frac{1}{2}\%$, and to members from $15\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $10\frac{1}{2}\%$. Other measures taken to stimulate payments were the extension of time for repayment, suspension of dividend and bonus payments, maintenance by Central Banks of property statements relating to members of societies and better training of departmental officers and the staff of Central Banks and primary Societies. For better supervision and control, the "circle system" of auditing has been introduced.

We hope these reforms will achieve something in the way of a better realisation of dues and also in covering loans with adequate security of property of members, but we doubt if it will put an end

to the present indiscriminate nature of lending by the Societies and restrict Societies' loans only to borrowing for productive purposes. We feel that some such restriction is essential for a healthy growth of Co-operation in Bengal and adequate steps should be taken to enforce it.

Limitations of Vocational Training

Speaking in the C. P. Council on the 9th of August last against a motion to amend the curricula of the Anglo-vernacular schools and the high schools so as to include industrial education with a view to the reduction of unemployment, Mr. M. Owen, Director of Public Instruction, said :

"Everyone will recognise that it would be useless and even harmful to train men in excess of opportunities for employment. The Government are impressed with the necessity of adjusting the educational system to industrial and economic requirements but consider that no scheme of vocational training is likely to be successful which is out of relation with existing industrial development. It cannot be too often repeated that the creation of vocational schools by the Government or by private agencies cannot itself create industries or industrial development."

Radio as a Means of Education

Mr. I. J. Chang, a young Chinese scholar, is the organiser of a unique wireless scheme of education in Shanghai, which he calls the "University in the Air."

Mr. Chang's system is pre-eminently simple. He lectures through a microphone at a Shanghai wireless station. These are listened to by about 1,000 Chinese students. The comparatively better-off of these have their own radio sets, while for the poorer classes radio sets have been installed in public halls and at social organisations like the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. As teaching is complete only when the student can ask questions of his teacher, Mr. Chang has made arrangements by which students can by telephone or by correspondence with the broadcasting station ask questions regarding the lectures they have been listening to, which are replied to immediately.

Mr. Chang is now anxious to broaden the basis of his talks by broadcasting records of lectures on religious, scientific and philosophical subjects by experts in all parts of the world every day for two hours. These records will be translated into Chinese before being broadcast.

The potentiality of broadcasting as a means of education, especially rural education, has long been recognised in India, in common with the rest of the world, but very little has hitherto been done in this country to harness this marvel of modern science to the work of rural uplift in India. What little of broadcasting there is in this country is urban and is for entertainment. Little has yet been done to utilise it in the education of the Indian villages. The costs of the system are not prohibitive, and it is capable of scientific organisation for educational purposes.

Sometime ago Mr. Brayne, Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction in the Punjab, went to Peshwar to study the system of rural broadcasting prevailing in that Province, with a view to its adoption in the Punjab. But there it would be chiefly for news-broadcasting and for entertainment.

We understand that Mr. Chang has arrived in Calcutta on his way to Santiniketan to meet Dr. Tagore. We hope that Dr. Tagore, who is such a great lover of education and of rural uplift will try to put to some use his guest's novel experience in the line and that the Government of Bengal which has been showing itself so eager to improve the lot of the people will also not let the opportunity pass.

Indian Insurance

Life insurance is one of the few fields in which Indian business enterprise excels, and the progress made by Indian Life Assurance companies during the year 1933-34 is quite in keeping up to that reputation. For the last ten or twelve years the Indian life-offices have been steadily absorbing a growing and a larger portion of the life-underwriting in India, and the report of the Government Actuary on life-insurance and insurance business in general shows that this tendency is continuing. In other kinds of insurance, however, like marine, fire, accident, etc., European predominance is as overwhelming as ever.

The Year Book shows that of the 341 Assurance companies operating in India, 194 companies are constituted in India and 147 outside, the leading position being occupied by Bombay among the Indian companies and by U. K. among the non-Indian companies. Of the total new life-insurance effected in India during the year 1933-34 amounting to 183,000 policies, assuring a sum of Rs. 33 crores and yielding a premium income of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores, the portion of new business done by Indian Companies amounted to 155,000 policies assuring a sum of Rs. 24 crores and having a premium income of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores, and the share of non-Indian companies was nearly 28,000 policies assuring a sum of Rs. 9 crores and yielding a premium income of Rs. $\frac{1}{4}$ crore. Indian companies have thus secured about 72% of the new business for the year 1933-34 and the foreign companies 28% as compared with 1932-33 figures of 66% for Indian companies and 34% for the non-Indian. The new business for all companies in 1933-34 has increased by about Rs. 6 crores, against a total new business of Rs. 27 crores for 1932-33; the amount of new business secured by non-Indian companies has remained the same, though their percentage share of it has declined.

These figures prove beyond doubt the progressive nature of Indian life insurance and the organising capacity of the Indian insurance worker, and testifies to his untiring zeal and energy. Amidst the almost universal gloom which has settled on Indian enterprises, Indian life insurance stands out in bold relief as the outstanding achievement of Indian commercial ability.

Central Land Mortgage Bank for Bombay

The problem of rural indebtedness is no less acute in Bombay than in Bengal and the Government of Bombay like the Government in Bengal and elsewhere is taking steps to relieve the burden. Bombay, however, proposes to follow quite a different plan from Bengal. It hopes to tackle the long term indebtedness and that through favourable governmental loans, so that through permanent improvements thereby effected, the income of the ryot will be increased.

The machinery to be utilised for this end is the Land mortgage Bank. The Government proposes to establish a large number of Land Mortgage Banks throughout the Presidency, one in each district preferably, and has created a Central Land Mortgage Bank which will be in control of district banks all over the Presidency.

There are already several district banks in the Presidency which have been carrying on the work of long term debt redemption and debts of over 4 lakhs of rupees have been settled. The boards of these banks as well as those of the new banks to be established will act unofficially as debt conciliation boards. There is no compulsory debt settlement legislation as in Bengal and many other Provinces, and herein lies a special feature of the Bombay system.

Commenting on this voluntary character of the scheme, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, the first chairman of the Central Land Mortgage Bank said that he is against compulsory conciliation by legislation as he feels that the relationship between ryot and the *Mahajan* should not be strained. He referred to the evil effects of such compulsion in U. P. where the *mahajans* are taking from the ryots written contracts for as much as four times the actual amount in order that they may not lose on the deal in the event of being compelled to come to terms at some future date with the ryot through the compulsory system.

This is just what we have said in our criticism of the Bengal Indebtedness Bill. Compulsory conciliation can bring about a temporary relief only at the expense of future hardship, unless the Government is ready to lend to the ryots and make them independent of the *Mahajan* in the future. As Mr. Samaldas has said just as much, if not more, can be gained by persuasive methods on the part of non-official conciliation boards as by legalised conciliation boards with the power of compulsion behind them.

Dr. Ambedkar's Threat

Dr. Ambedkar has created a veritable sensation in Indian political circles by his threat to break away with his Harijans from the Hindu fold. In spite of the Poona Pact and the promises of leading Hindu leaders, the condition of the Harijans, says the doctor, has not substantially improved and the situation does not portend any great hopes of future amelioration. With the Hindus continuing so hostile, and at best so indifferent to the claims of the Depressed Classes, there is no good in

their continuing in the Hindu fold any more. They should embrace some other religion, which will recognise their claims to socio-religious equality and not look upon them as "pariahs."

That there is a good deal of truth in Dr. Ambedkar's charge, that the Depressed classes are still depressed, can hardly be denied. But there is also no gainsaying the fact that for the first time in two thousand years, Hindu complacency has been rudely shaken, and the sincere and substantial efforts are being made to improve the conditions of the Depressed classes. It is not possible to shake the deadweight of so many centuries in a year or two, but there is no doubt that during the last two or three years, the condition of the Harijans has considerably improved. We, of course recognise the usefulness of Dr. Ambedkar's threat in giving a further impetus to this amelioration work, but we would remind him, that reform, if it is to be real, must be slow and change, if it is to last, must take time.

We do not think Dr. Ambedkar's threat as anything more than a stage stunt, and he has no real intention of giving up the religion of his fathers. For by doing so, he will, far from doing any good to the Harijans, will positively retard their progress. He understands, what Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya have said, that the great masses of the Harijans will never listen to the doctor's advice, and if the latter and others of his way of thinking really carried out the threat, they will only deprive the Harijans of their leadership and themselves of their present political importance.

Present System of Education.

In criticising the present system of education as a "rambling alien structure unsuited to Indian ideals," Mr. S. K. Devasigamani levelled three charges against it.

In the present system no provision is made for vocational training. A narrow linguistic training, he said, was not education in its true sense.

Predominance was given to examination results. Very often, therefore, "clever parrots who really know nothing" get through and men with wider education failed to get the attention they deserved.

Under the present system of educating boys and girls "away" from their family traditions, these stable properties were replaced with discontent and unrest which in turn resulted in many turning to paths leading to nefarious cults like terrorism and communism.

Educational reform should take the line that students should be trained to independence of thought and action instead of being taught like so many parrots to repeat given lines and not know their true meaning or the ideals that underlie them and which should be translated into action, each man according to his ability.

Education, too, should develop in students a sense of good citizenship, an appreciation of the dignity of labour, an ability to turn their education to practical use in every day life.

If education makes a boy or a girl abandon pursuits that have been family traditions for centuries, it is wrong. If, after education, a boy or a girl can do those things which their parents have done, only do them better, then it is right. This should be the aim of educational reform."

One-sided Development of Co-operative Movement in Orissa

That the application of the principles of Co-operation to one aspect only of the village problem, the need for credit facilities on reasonable terms to the exclusion of all others, was a great mistake is now being generally recognised, says the Secretary of the Orissa Co-operative Organisation Society in his annual report.

"The rural problem", says the report "is not primarily an economic problem as is generally believed. The problem is spiritual, and if any aspect of the problem deserves precedence, it is the social and the moral. Credit facilities can never be extended in an adequate measure to all the millions of agriculturists requiring it, unless the ground has first been prepared by social and moral development.

Such one-sided development of the Co-operative movement is not peculiar to Orissa, but characterises the whole country. It is at the root of the comparative failure of the Co-operative movement throughout India. Long ago, the Agricultural Commission gave a warning against any such development. Any wide extension of cheap credit facilities, it said, unaccompanied by a paralleled development of education and habits of thrift in the cultivators, will only lead the cultivators to increased indebtedness.

Trade by Barter.

According to the latest reports at Basrha, a commercial agreement has been concluded between representatives of the German and Iranian Governments at Berlin whereby the countries undertake to trade by barter.

Iran will supply Germany with saltpetre, wool, cotton, precious metals, cereals, rice and fruits, while Germany will supply Iran with machinery for the production of textiles, electrical machinery, motor vehicles and building materials

Sir Laurie Hammond

How wonderfully Sir Laurie Hammond won the hearts of those placed under his charge or those with whom he had occasion to come in contact in his official capacity was never more so brilliantly exhibited than when he was on his way to Ranchi. He had frequently to stop his motor car on the wayside to receive the kindest homage from persons who travelled from long distances to have a *darshan* of one who did not allow official position to interfere in any way with his cordial exchange of friendly feelings with the humblest of the humble.

Representatives from all over Bihar and Orissa mustered at Ranchi to meet Sir Laurie Hammond, Chairman of the Delimitation Committee who was so popular when he was Chief Secretary and later Member of the Executive Council.

Mr. Chandreshvar Prasad Narayan Singh, Chairman of the Bihar Franchise Committee, gave a party to meet Sir Laurie Hammond and members of the Indian Delimitation Committee and the opportunity was taken for an informal exchange of views between the Committee and leading men of the province.

Among those present at the function were the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, the Raja Bahadur of Kanika, the Raja Bahadur of Amawan, the Raja of Parlakimedi, the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, the Hon. Mr. N. N. Sinha, the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Hubback, Mrs. Venketasubba Rao, the Hon. Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh and the Hon. Mr. S. A. Aziz.

Heir-Apparent of the Raja of Parikud.

The Raja Saheb of Parikud has been blessed with a son and to celebrate the "21st day ceremony" of the newly born heir-apparent a reception was held at the Ballygunge residence of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Tripura, which was followed by a luncheon party at Firpo's Restaurant.

Among the guests were the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, the Raja of Keonjhar, the Raja of Daspalla, the Raja of Khandpara, and many distinguished Europeans and Indians.

Among many letters of congratulation, were letters from the Viceroy and the Governors of Bengal and Bihar.

Charities and Benevolences.

Two Charitable dispensaries are being established in the villages of Gaoghara and Ajogara, in the district of Khulna and will be named after the late Mr. Kumud Chandra Dutta, of Senhati, who left a sum of Rs. 12,000 with the District Board for the purpose.

* . * . * . *

Mr. Sarat Chandra Ghose Pal, of Tuzalpur has given Rs. 6,000 to the District Board for metalling a road in the Satkhira Sub-division and Rs. 1,500 for the construction of a park in Satkhira.

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OBITUARY

Mr. Ananda Chandra Roy, a leading member of the Dacca Bar, died recently at his Dacca residence at the age of 92.

He had joined the Dacca Bar in 1863 and retired in 1908 after 40 years' extensive practice. He played a leading part in the Bengal partition agitation along with the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea. He was the first chairman of the Dacca Municipality under the Bengal Municipal Act and was elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council after the annulment of the partition. He belonged to that small band of patriots who were pioneers in rousing the political consciousness of their countrymen and whose service in the cause of the country particularly at a time when such service was apt to be misconstrued and misunderstood will entitle them ever to a place in the hearts of their countrymen.

Rai Saheb Ishan Chandra Ghosh, a well known educationist and writer, died at his Calcutta residence recently at an advanced age of 75.

Born in Jessore he was educated in Calcutta. He joined the Government Education Department in 1885 and retired in 1916 as Headmaster of Hare School, Calcutta. He also served as Assistant Director of Public Instruction, being the first Bengali to hold that appointment.

Mr. Ghosh was the author of a large number of school books.

He was a philanthropist and made gifts to the Pasteur Institute at Kasauli and to the Tuberculosis Hospital at Jadabpur. We understand his love for his own profession led him before his death to make provision for substantial charities in the cause of education in Bengal.



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EDITOR'S NOTICE.

The "Landholders' Journal" is, as its title indicates, the accredited organ of the landholding community of India. It has come into existence to promote the interests—political, social and economic, of the landholding classes, and must necessarily depend for its success on the active co-operation and assistance of the community which it serves.

The policy of the Journal is progressive and dictated by one ideal—progress of the country as a whole along constitutional lines and without impairment of the basic rights of the zemindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants.

The Editor cordially invites articles and contributions on problems of interest to the country in general and to the landholding community in particular, items of personal and district news, reports of political and social events, autobiographical and biographical sketches with photographs of prominent members of the landholding community and photographs of general topical interest.



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Sd. BADRIDASS GOENKA.

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His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar III



Vol. IV. {

DECEMBER, 1935.

} No. III.

An Epoch-making Ruler

ALL honour to Baroda and its august and sagacious Ruler the Diamond Jubilee of whose reign is being celebrated today.

The importance of an enlightened ruler in India is to be measured not so much by the extent of territory or population over which he exercises authority or by the number of gun salutes or the order of precedence which he enjoys as by the amount of care which he bestows upon the well-being of his subjects and the extent to which his authority is administered in their interests. Judged by this standard few, indeed very few, among the Indian States can claim a ruler of the type and stamp of His Highness the Maharaja Sir SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAR, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., of Baroda.

A representative, in modern times, of the highest Hindu ideals of kingship, a statesman among statesmen, a reformer among reformers, a stickler for the rights of his Order and a staunch upholder of the ideal of Indian Federation, Maharaja Sayajirao occupies a unique position in Princely India. His contribution to the making of Baroda such as we find it today can well be gauged by comparing it with what it was five or six decades ago. With an earnest and sincere desire to elevate his people in all spheres of life coupled with singular tact, wisdom and foresight he has formulated and enforced measures which were not slow to evoke enthusiastic and whole-hearted co-operation of his people, and which resulted, within a brief span of fifty years, in a marvellous transformation, bordering almost on the miraculous, of a poverty-stricken, woe-forlorn state into one of the most progressive and flourishing in India. Although in point of area and population Baroda comes after several important States, its political importance is second to none, and in fact, it has led and is still

leading, under its present ruler, the ways to social, economic and administrative reforms, in a manner worthy of emulation by all.

This is no mean achievement and in this His Highness has been assisted by such able Dewans as Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan Bahadur Ganpat Rao Gaekwar and Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the present incumbent and a host of devoted officials. Words of felicitations are naturally pouring in from all respectable and high quarters congratulating His Highness upon the glorious record of sixty years' rule. The message which His Majesty the King-Emperor sent to His Highness on the occasion was a warm appreciation of His Highness' work and had a genuine ring of sincerity and unconventionality about it when it said

"Your Highness, it gives me much pleasure to convey to Your Highness my sincere congratulations on the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of your accession to the *Gadi* of Baroda. To few Princes is it granted to rule for so long a period of time and to look back with satisfaction upon 60 years of continued material and moral progress in the lives of their subjects. I trust Your Highness may be spared to your State for many years to come and that prosperity and happiness may increasingly attend your rule."

His Excellency the Viceroy was equally candid when he eulogised at the recent State banquet in Baroda, the services of His Highness to Baroda and its people. "The year 1875", said His Excellency, "when Your Highness succeeded to the *Gadi* marked the beginning of a new area of material and steady progress in the State under Your Highness' enlightened guidance. Baroda has never looked back. At the outset Your Highness set before you high ideals many of which have already been attained while others you steadfastly pursue, and I can truly say that you have devoted your life to the interests of your State and the welfare of your subjects. The fruits of your labours are in evidence on all sides. The administration of the State is on a high level, but what is perhaps more important, it is built upon sure foundations." His Excellency very rightly congratulated His Highness upon the creation of a Trust, in commemoration of His Highness' Diamond Jubilee, with a capital of a crore of rupees, the income from which is to be devoted to the improvement of rural conditions in Baroda. We endorse every word which His Excellency uttered in this connection : "I can imagine no more fitting manner in which the memory of this historic occasion could be perpetuated. The people of Baroda are fortunate indeed that Your Highness has been spared for so long a period of service for their common good and I am confident that your name will be emblazoned in gold upon the annals of your State and will long be remembered by your people with gratitude and affection".

We can do no better than present our readers on this occasion, with a brief notice of the career of this great Ruler of Baroda. The structure of Highness' Government and the manifold improvements of Baroda under His Highness' regime appear elsewhere in this issue.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS HIGHNESS' CAREER

Born in an obscure village in the Nasik district His Highness was the second son of Kashirao, a descendent of Prataprao, the third son of Tulaji Rao Gaekwar, the founder of the State. Under authority from the British Government, Her Highness Maharani Jamunabai, widow of the Late Maharaja Khanderao, adopted him in 1875 as successor to inherit the wealth and power of her husband and he ascended the Gadi in the same year while still a minor.

During his minority the administration of the State was carried on by the Minister, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, under the supervision of the Government of India. He conserved the resources of the State, and made it his especial duty to ensure that the young Ruler should be fully equipped by education and training to make the best use of those natural talents he so amply possessed. Accordingly Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, I.C.S., was appointed chief tutor and devoted himself to giving his charge a first-class education and a thorough training in the arts of administration. In 1877



**Srimant Yubraj Pratap Singh Rao Gaekwar,
heir-apparent to the throne of Baroda.**

He attended the ceremony in Delhi of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India and on that occasion he made the acquaintance of some of his fellow peers in the Princely Order, notably His Highness the late Nizam of Hyderabad and His Highness the late Maharaja of Mysore. On this occasion, Queen Victoria conferred upon him the title of Farzand-i-Khas-i-Dowlat-i-Inglishia, "Favoured son of the British Empire."

In 1881, the Maharaja came to age and duly ascended the throne of his ancestors. The Viceroy deputed the Governor of Bombay to be present on the occasion on his behalf to announce the termination of the minority. The Maharaja straightway threw himself with vigour and zeal into the work of administering his State, the destinies of which had been placed in his hands, and such was the force of his character and example that he inspired a like zeal in all his officers of the State, so that

the Government of Baroda soon became an efficient instrument for the improvement of the conditions of His Highness' subjects.

The better to enable him to initiate such schemes of reform, His Highness together with his consort has carried out several extensive foreign tours, during the course of which he made his business to study the economic, social and political conditions of the countries he visited. The ideas he assimilated have been put into practice wherever they were applicable to local conditions. His first trip to Europe was undertaken in 1887 and covered such countries as Italy, Switzerland, France and England. In England, the Maharaja and Maharani were the honoured guests of the late Queen Victoria, and the Maharaja, during a Royal interview, was invested with the Knight Grand Commandership of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. This trip was followed by a series of others in part necessitated by the fact that His Highness had applied himself to his duties with such energy that his physical resources were sapped and he was compelled to recuperate his health in Switzerland and elsewhere. Thus he visited Europe in 1888, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1900. In 1910, His Highness ventured further afield and toured the East, including Malaya, China and Japan, and went on to America. There he visited a number of the bigger centres in the United States and Canada before crossing the Atlantic to England. In the following year, His Highness again visited England and was presented at the coronation of the present King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. Since then, in post-war years he has more than once been abroad for reason of health, and is thus a widely travelled man with that breadth of outlook which comes to the observant traveller. He has put his foreign experience to good use in his State, the interests of which have throughout been uppermost in his mind.

In 1880, he married Laxmibai, a niece of the last Maharaja of Tanjore. Of that union two children were born, a daughter and a son. The daughter died in infancy. The son was the Yuvaraja Fatehsingh, who died prematurely in 1908, leaving two daughters and one son. This son, Shrimant Maharajkumar Yuvaraj Pratapsingh, is the heir-apparent to the throne. The first Maharani died in 1885, and His Highness later married the present Maharani, who is a daughter of Sardar Bajirao Ghatge of the Dewas State, in Central India. Her title is Her Highness Maharani Chimuabai II. C. I. This union was blessed with three sons and one daughter, but only one son Prince Dhairyashilrao and daughter are now surviving, Prince Jayasinh having died in 1923 and Prince Shivajirao in 1919. The daughter, Princess Indira Raje married the Maharaja of Cooh Behar and is now the Dowager Maharani of that State.

Her Highness the Maharani Chimanabai II is an enlightened lady. She was created a Lady of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India in 1892. She accompanied the Maharaja on most of his foreign travels. She takes keen interest in the cause of the uplift of Indian women. She is the President of the Indian Women's Association. Her Highness has founded a number of scholarships for the education of girls and has established an industrial Home for women in Baroda which is open to women regardless of caste or creed.



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A Conference of Landholders

The fortnight that begins from X'mas is always the period in India during which the most important political and other Conferences are held, and it is only in the fitness of things that the landholders of the Permanently Settled areas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam should hold their Conference during this traditionally active period. We have, on more than one occasion, insisted in the columns of the paper, that in troubled periods with the dark shadows lengthening all around us, a more active and more assertive policy is required of our zemindars. The days are gone when they could take things easy, secure in the knowledge of their service and usefulness to their country, and their recognition by their fellow citizens as the economic backbone of the country. It is therefore with sincere pleasure that we welcome this sign of increased political activity among the zemindars which this Conference, and the resolutions passed in it, indicate.

The Conference was most fittingly held at Darbhanga House in Calcutta, with the Maharajadhiraja of Dharbhanga in the chair. The Conference adopted three resolutions which we proceed to give below.

The first resolution which was proposed by the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur and seconded by Rai Bahadur Keshab Chandra Banerjee reads as follows :—

'Resolved that this Conference of Landholders view with a sense of appreciation the laudable efforts of the various Provincial Governments to relieve the colossal indebtedness of the rural population and earnestly request them to take the landholders into their confidence and nominate at least one landholder to be a member of each Conciliation Board that may be formed under the Act from time to time, as the interests of the peasants and the tenantry are closely bound up with those of the landholding community.'

We hope this will remove the belief carefully fostered by interested parties that the landholding community is dead against any reduction of the burden of indebtedness on the rural population, because in many cases the zemindar is also the "Mahajan". There is nothing so absurd as to think that the zemindars want the peasants to be grounded in poverty under the burden of heavy debts, for the prosperity of the zemindars depends on those of the peasants, as the present depression has clearly shown. The zemindars have all along lent their whole-hearted support to all fair and efficient measures for agricultural improvement in the country. But they want that their own rights should be adequately protected, and the Government should not in its sympathy with the

debtor forget the interest of the creditor. At least one representative on the Conciliation Boards is the least that the zemindars can demand for the protection of their interests, and the least that the Government can do for them is to allow it.

The second Resolution, which was moved by Mr. Nabakumar Singh Dudhuria and seconded by Mr. T. P. Ghosh, declared that in view of the coming Reforms "the Landholders of the different Provinces should meet from time to time, and devise means for the purpose of sending such representatives to the different Councils and Assemblies as will best serve the interests of the Landholders and the people in general, and with this end in view a conference of the representatives of the different Landholders' Associations of the Permanently Settled areas, be convened at an early date."

The third resolution, which was proposed by Mr. Choudhury Labibuddin Ahmed Siddiky and seconded by Mr. S. Bose, deserves the most careful attention. There are a class of pseudo-patriots in India who think that if the Permanent Settlement is abolished, India will become a second Paradise. It would be useless to deny that they have the support of some irresponsible young and some self-styled economic experts, and what is worse, of some erratic English Socialists who cannot rest unless they are championing some absurdity. This volume of opinion is of course quite negligible, but the Conference did right in drawing attention to it. It resolved "that the British Authorities in India and in England be requested not to countenance any agitation which will have the effect of interfering with the vested interests of the landholding community and in particular with the sanctity of the Permanent Settlement on which depends the economic well-being of the people at large."

We are sure the British authorities will give to this resolution the attention it deserves, for they know full well that the zemindars constitute the economic basis of the country and form the one permanent landmark when everything else in the country is weltering in a wave of flux and change.

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The Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Farouqi, Kt.,
Minister, Bengal Government.

Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Farouqi, Kt.

NAWAB Sir Mohiuddin Farouqi, the only son of Kazi Rayazuddin Muhammad Farouqi, born in the year 1891, belongs to one of the few historic families of Bengal. He is the eleventh in decent from Kazi Omar Shah Farouqi, a lineal descendant of Hazrat Omar Farouqi, the second Khalif of Arabia who migrated to India and settled at Delhi. He was sent out to Bengal as a military commander by Emperor Furrokhshiar and in recognition of his meritorious services was given the grant of extensive Jaighir (rent-free land) of two parganas in the district of Tippera, and the original Sanad conferring the Jaighir by Emperor Furrokhshiar is in the possession of the family.

Kazi Aftabuddin Farouqi, the grandfather of Nawab Sir Mohiuddin, rendered great help to the Empire at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny. His only son, Kazi Rayazuddin Muhammad Farouqi, the father of Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Farouqi, was recognised as the most influential Muhammadan leader and was highly respected by all communities.

Nawab Sir Mohiuddin was educated at the Dacca College under the guardianship of Mr. Archibald, the Principal of the College. Even from a comparatively early age he developed a spirit of public service and a love for public life, and not a few of the humanitarian works of Comilla, his native district, owe their origin to the ungrudging patronage and generous endeavours of Nawab Sir Mohiuddin.

He was the first non-official Chairman of the Tippera District Board, Commissioner of the Comilla Municipality, Member of the A. B. Railway Advisory Board, Member of the Dacca University Court, an Honorary Magistrate and a Member of the Governing Body of the Comilla College for several years before he entered the arena of high politics. He made the influence of his personality felt everywhere and rendered a really useful and valuable service in whatever capacity he had the occasion to serve either the Government or the public.

He has been Member of the Bengal Legislative Council since the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and was the non-official Chief Whip of the Council till he was appointed Minister to the Government of Bengal in 1929 in charge of Agriculture, Industries, Co-operation, Veterinary Department and Public Works.

As a Minister to the Government, Nawab Sir Mohiuddin has given effect to a considerable number of measures which have already had, or are likely to have in future, far-reaching results in improving the

condition of agriculture and industry of the Province. He introduced and successfully piloted the State Aid to Industries Act, a measure of great promise and usefulness, in as far as it afforded an opportunity to the small and nascent industries to grow up with aid, as far as possible, from the Government. His scheme for the relief of unemployment amongst the middle class educated young men is a work of great significance and is the first of its kind since the inauguration of the Reforms for opening up new avenues of employment through industrial development of the Province. He took steps to establish Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks for relieving agricultural indebtedness and his scheme for the restriction in the cultivation of jute with a view to fetch a better income to the cultivators has been a measure of immense benefit. He made serious endeavours to improve the animal husbandry of the Province and significant results are already available of the various agricultural researches taken up at his instance. The scheme for the training of detenus in industrial and agricultural pursuits in order to afford them an opportunity to prove useful citizens, is now having a trial and its results are awaited with interest all over India. The Water Hyacinth Bill, introduced in the last winter session of the Legislative Council, is likely to be another measure of great importance adding to the number of achievements of Nawab Sir Mohiuddin.

He enjoys the confidence of all sections of the people in the Province. In recognition of his meritorious services and activities he was honoured with the title of "Khan Bahadur" in 1924, with that of "Nawab" in 1932. On the New Year's day, 1936, His Majesty the King-Emperor conferred on him a Knighthood, a distinction which he richly deserved.

He married Quatrina Begum, eldest daughter of the Hon'ble Alhadj Nawab Bahadur Sir Abdelkerim Ghuznavi, Kt., of Dilduar, Ex-Member of the Executive Council, Government of Bengal.

Genial and affable by nature Nawab Sir Mohiuddin easily wins the hearts of all with whom he comes into contact by his frankness, unostentatiousness and extreme simplicity of demeanour. His concern for the poor and the needy, the weak and the distressed knows no distinction of caste, colour or creed and is amply reflected in the numerous ameliorative measures sponsored and executed by him in various positions that he has been called upon so far to fill in life. It is this overmastering passion of sympathy and service that has won for him a much-coveted niche in the hearts of his countrymen. As a zemindar his life is an object lesson to members of his Order on the best ways of harmonising its relations with the tenantry. A fine fruit of Bengal aristocracy he shows singular aptitude to combine the best of both aristocracy and democracy. It is here that the secret of his success in life lies. Failings, which are only too human, he undoubtedly has; but of him, as of all great men, it may be said that "even his failings lean on virtue's side."

The National Movement in India

OR FIFTY YEARS OF THE CONGRESS

BY KHAGENDRA N. SEN, M.A., F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

"And even if the leaders of thought are all either such poor creatures, or so selfishly wedded to personal concerns, that they dare not strike a blow for their country's sake, then justly and rightly are they kept down and trampled on, for they deserve nothing better".—Mr. A. O. Hume's letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University.

"We are free, we are civilized to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of the freedom and civilization".—Lord Macaulay.

There is an idea current in public mind that the Indian National Congress of today is something radically different from the Congress of A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Pheroze Mehta, Dinshaw Wacha and others. The difference is crudely expressed by saying that the earlier Congresses were Moderate and that the later Congresses were Extremist. This popular idea is correct up to a point. When the Congress assembled for the first time in Bombay at the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the 28th December, 1885, its object was thus defined by Mr. W. C. Bannerjee, the first President, in the following words :

"(a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the different parts of the Empire.

(b) The eradication, by direct, friendly, personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.

(c) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

(d) The determination of the lines upon, and methods by which, during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests".

Even as late as 1899, when the Congress constitution was first drawn up, its creed was defined thus : "The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by all constitutional means the interests and well-being of the people of the Indian Empire". Since there was but little representation of the Indian people in the Legislatures and still less power granted to them, the "constitutional means" referred to in the creed naturally meant prayers and petitions without which there was absolutely no means at the disposal of the Indian people to make even an approach to the seat of public power. The right of appeal included the right to petition the British Parliament and individual members thereof. Fortunately, there was then a group in the Parliament, which was later strengthened by the election of Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji, who actively associated themselves with the aspirations of the Indian people and which included such illustrious names as those of Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, Mr. Alfred Webb etc. Within the country itself, a group of Englishmen, or more accurately, Britons, had actively associated with—even acted as sponsors of—the National Congress since its very inception. Mr. Allan Octavious Hume of revered memory—then in Government Service and a liberal, with an extract from whose stirring letter to Calcutta Graduates we have begun this article—was rightly reputed to be the father of the Congress. It is perhaps, not altogether an accident that this honour should have fallen to a Scotchman.

Those were the days when the Government sincerely sympathised with the movement and even helped it to grow. Mr. Hume was himself a Government servant. Lord Dufferin had honoured it by giving it the designation of "His Majesty's Permanent Opposition". Government members freely attended its meetings. When in 1890 the Government of Bengal attempted to prevent Government servants from attending the Congress which was held in Calcutta, they received a snubbing from the Viceroy who declared it "perfectly legitimate". Who could say that behind this official snubbing there was not a far-stretching policy ! As Mr. Smedley had said, referring to the resolutions that used to be passed by the Congress in those times : "Those resolutions seem to me to be making so small a demand, that they will be glad to allow you those little things to keep you off from Home Rule". In one word, it was a period when the Congress was feeling its ground, the bureaucracy feeling the Congress, and either trying to adjust itself to the temper of the other.

But it would be wrong to make a rigid division of Congress politics into Moderate and Extremist or to point out that the Congress held before 1906 were "Moderate" while those held after have been "Extremist". Far more correct would be the aphorism that the Extremists of today are the Moderates of tomorrow. For if we analyse the resolutions passed at the successive sessions of the Congress and study them in the context of the circumstances prevailing in those times, we shall find that the Congress resolutions were almost in each case of a revolutionary character. To

these we shall presently refer. The national mind when once awakened cannot go to sleep again. The year 1885 saw the birth of the national mind. But it has taken a long time to be weaned. It has seen Mr. R. C. Dutt fighting for a Divisional Commissionship which was made into a first class political issue. It has witnessed the Ilbert Bill agitation. It has lived through the history of the cotton excise duty. It has shared in many national ignominies and is bound to share in more. All these belong to the same category and in principle represent an unbroken chain of evolution. Old problems are constantly being succeeded by new ones. Any number of Indians could become Commissioners of Divisions since the days of R. C. Dutt. The cotton excise duty is no more. The Ilbert Bill agitation has long spent itself out. But we have now other problems to settle, some of which are new, while others have appeared in a resurrected form. Methods also are changing with the change, first, in the character of the problems and, secondly, the attitude of the Government *vis-a-vis* the natural aspirations of the people.

One thing is, however, certain. It was neither 1929 nor 1931 which marks the major change in the tone, tenour and temper of the national movement. The real change took place in 1905. The partition of an independent State in Europe had given shape to the national movement about a century and a half ago. The partition of a province in India succeeded in bringing the message of the national movement to the door of the rank and file. Liberals—as the Moderates might now be called—contributed magnificently to the new upheaval. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, presiding over the Benares Congress in 1905, correctly represented the spirit of the nation when he thus thundered forth : “If all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle ; if men whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own, then all I can say is : Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with bureaucracy in the interests of the people”. Next year, the creed of the Congress was changed into that of “the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members”. These objects, it was declared, “are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country”. The constitution was finally adopted in 1912 at Bankipore. In 1914, under the shadow of the War, Babu Bhupendranath Basu repeated that “the claim of India was one of joint partnership on equal terms with the members of the Empire”. All these point to the crystallization of a new ideal, the opening up of a new outlook. But the idea of “steady reform” had still been persisting. It is on record that the Congress in its session

at Madras (1908) accorded unqualified welcome to the Morley-Minto reforms. The language of the Resolution is worth reproduction :

"This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley's despatch have been received throughout the country ; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

"The Congress is of opinion that the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils and the enlargement of their powers and functions, in the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Councils with the creation of such Councils where they do not exist, and the further development of Local Self-Government, constitute a large and liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people of the country a substantial share in the management of their affairs and to bring the administration into closer touch with their wants and feelings.

"The Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed Scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch have been conceived."

Contrast this Resolution with the Congress-Muslim League proposals for reform or with the Nehru Report, not to speak of the boycott of the Simon Commission and the wholesale rejection of the Reform Act of 1935. In fact, the session of the Congress held at Lucknow in 1916 is now rightly described as historic. It brought about a re-union of the "Extremists" with the "Moderates", and of the Hindu and Muslim politicians through the "Lucknow Pact" which formed the corner-stone of the Congress-League scheme. But the era of absolute non-co-operation did not begin till after the two Congresses (Calcutta and Nagpur) of 1920, and it was at the Nagpur Congress that its creed was changed to that of "the attainment of Swarajya"—within the Empire, if possible, without, if necessary—"by all legitimate and peaceful means", which was the significant substitute for the earlier phrase, "by all constitutional means." The Congress had still faith in the British Government ; it still did not, in the words of Hume, "dare strike a blow for their country's cause." Even the Amritsar Congress, meeting after much disillusionment, and under the shadow of the Jhallianwallabagh tragedy, was moved by the apparent sincerity of Mr. Montagu, then Secretary of State, and a Resolution passed at that session (1918) reads : "The Congress trusts that so far as may be possible, they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible Government and this Congress offers its thanks to the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labour in connection with the Reforms." This, coming after an earlier declaration, in the same Resolution, that the Reform Act was "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" appears on the face of it to register a compromise between the Extremist and the Moderate points of view.

The call to "direct action" that finally made the breach between the two schools of political thought unbridgeable came at the Special Session of the Congress held in Calcutta in 1930 under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai. It may be recalled that Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das led the opposition on behalf of Bengal at this session to Mahatma Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, but he too was converted to it at the regular session held at Nagpur in the same year. Two factors contributed to this change of front. One was the Khilafat agitation which, as subsequent developments showed, the Congress should never have supported ; and the other was the Punjab tragedy. It was, however, significant that Mr. C. Vijayraghavachariar, President of the Nagpur Congress stated clearly that it was Swaraj and not simply the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs that should be the motive power of Non-co-operation. I need not detail here the subsequent history of direct action and its stagnation immediately following the Chauri Chaura tragedy. The legislatures had been smoothly functioning under the Montague reforms, with the result that though at the Ahmedabad Congress held under the presidency of Hakim Ajmal Khan, the "thesis" (with apologies to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya) of the Non-co-operation movement, its "philosophy" and its programme were clearly set forth, it failed to make any impression on a growingly restive section of the Congress that was feeling the barren infructuousness of a creed that had for the time being ceased to be active. This section was led ably at Gaya by Deshabandhu Chittarajan Das who announced his own thesis, philosophy and programme of capturing the legislatures. It is said of him that he "had really two documents in his pocket when he presided over the Gaya Congress,—one was the Presidential address, and the other his resignation of the Presidentship together with the constitution of the Swaraj Party". At Belgaum, the revolt against Mahatmajee was almost complete ; and the All India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Patna on the 21st September, 1925, made over the political work of the Congress to the Swaraj Party. In other words, the Party became the Congress itself in the legislatures instead of being merely a protestant group within the Congress.

As was to be expected, the work of the Swaraj Party in the legislatures was full of anomalies. It could not be, in the nature of thing, a hundred per cent programme of non-co-operation. The Swaraj Party, for one thing, did not command an absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly and in most of the Provincial Legislatures, and the requirements of party politics compelled it to seek the co-operation of strange bed-fellows. In fact, very well-deserved tributes have been paid to the masterly knowledge of parliamentary tactics that the leaders of the Swaraj Party revealed, particularly in the Legislative Assembly, *vis-à-vis* the Government benches who often bungled things. But that did not alter the fact that the programme of hundred per cent obstruction had to be softened from the very beginning and to be relaxed time and again, and perhaps Lord Dufferin's nickname of the Congress—"His Majesty's Permanent

Opposition"—came to be technically fulfilled; but with this admission, frankly, that it could not be more obnoxious than His Majesty's Opposition in the British Parliament. In fact, it was less. For, if an authority on the subject is to be believed, it is the duty of His Majesty's Opposition in Britain "to oppose everything, to propose nothing, and to kick out the Government"; the Indian counterpart of His Majesty's opposition did not however,—or could not—kick out the Government, and in that respect at least, it was a more pleasant companion for the Treasury Benches in India than it would otherwise have been. In the Provinces, the success of the Party meant the frequent resignation of the Ministry concerned, its substitution by another, if possible, and if not, the resumption of the Transferred Departments by the Governor. The Reserved Departments continued unconcerned. In short, the constitution did not fail to function.

A reference is necessary here to the goal of the Congress. No doubt, the Swaraj Party succeeded in exposing the irresponsible nature of the Government in India. We have also seen that for a long time, from 1906-1920, the goal of the Congress had been the attainment by the people of India of "a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members". The announcement by Mr. Montague in the House of Commons (August, 1917) envisaged the same goal, and it was adopted in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919. That Preamble is still operative today. Though all references to Dominion Status have been deliberately withheld from the Act of 1935, the Preamble to the Government of India Act has been interpreted by highest authority to mean Dominion Status as "the natural issue" of India's constitutional developments. In fact, it was argued that India's Dominion Status was already in action. India was a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles. An Indian High Commissioner protects the interests of Indians in Great Britain. India has a separate vote on the international Navigation Commission. She participates in the Conferences on Dominion Legislation. She participated in the Five-Powers Naval Conference, and in various other Conferences. She has a seat on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. All these, it has been frequently pointed out, show that India has been enjoying a status not inferior to that of the Dominions even in the international sphere.

If we correlate this analysis of the situation with the attitude of the Congress thereto, we are concerned with a further series of anomalies which require some elucidation. In 1920, the goal of the Congress had been defined as the attainment of Swarajya—within the Empire, if possible, without, if necessary. Between 1920 and 1927, much water had flown down the Gauges. The Swaraj Party had done its best to undermine the people's faith in the Reforms. There was a wave of discontent throughout the country. On the crest of it came the announcement of the All-White Simon Commission. On the 10th of November, the Congress President.

issued an appeal to boycott the Commission and on the 11th December, an All-Parties Conference held at Allahabad under the Presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya approved of it. The whole country exhibited a rare unanimity and enthusiasm in the matter. The Radicals had clearly matters in their own way ; and in Madras, the goal of the Congress was defined as "complete independence". But this Resolution was destined to have a period of suspended animation. The Simon Commission was a challenge to political India, and an all-Parties Conference held on the 12th February, 1928 set up a Committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Matilal Nehru "to report on the constitution, franchise and the declaration of rights of the Commonwealth of India". The constitutional scheme must be an agreed solution, and the goal of "complete independence" did not commend itself as practical to a considerable body of opinion in the country. The Nehru Report, in spite of the declared goal of the Congress, laid down the status of the self-governing Dominions as the ideal to be secured, in the following words :

"India shall have the same constitutional status in the comity of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India".

The All-parties Conference held on the 28th August at Lucknow to consider the Report adopted Dominion Status as the goal of India's constitutional development without restricting the freedom of action of those who believed in complete independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dissociated himself from the Resolution while S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose, though a signatory to the Report said that he did not believe in Dominion Status but approved of it as a preliminary step to complete independence. In the All Parties Convention, however, that was held in Calcutta on the eve of the Congress under the presidency of Dr. Aisari, S. J. Subhas Chandra Bose moved a resolution for complete independence which, however, was lost, the compromise resolution in favour of Dominion Status being carried. It is, however, significant that a meeting of the A. I. C. C. held in Delhi in November, 1928 while accepting the recommendations of the Nehru Committee adhered to the decision of the Madras Congress declaring complete independence to be the goal of the Indian people and recorded the opinion that "there can be no true freedom till the British connection is severed".

Recent events are too fresh in public memory to need any discussion in these pages. But sufficient highlights in the Congress history have been indicated to enable us to reach certain conclusions. The first is that the evolution of the Congress has followed a devious, but not unbroken line. The second is that the British Government have always followed rather than led, and followed with disastrous procrastinations in the way

rather than led with grace and without prejudice to their own settled policy, the natural aspirations of the people. The Act of 1909 might have meant the liquidation of the Congress through the consummation of all its immediate aims in 1899. The Act of 1919 would have satisfied the radicals of 1906. The Act of 1935 would have met the demands of those who in 1918 (Bombay, Special Session) had formulated an elaborate scheme for the "modification" of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The difference between what the Congress has been asking for and the Government's response to it is only a difference of time—a gap of about 10 to 15 years. No doubt, the present goal of the Congress is still the attainment of "Purna Swaraj". But statesmen with any experience of Indian political trends will easily sense the real immediate objective of the Indian people. It is a status corresponding to the status of the Dominions—to be an equal partner with them in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is the one goal on which all sections of political opinion are agreed, and provides the one platform on which all the political parties stand united. Perhaps, the Government would offer to meet these aspirations to the full a decade or two decades hence; but it is also probable that the Indian peoples might then have broken away too far to be harked back. The question is, is there no compromise possible to-day?"

* For the materials of this article, the writer is deeply indebted to Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya's History of the Congress, and particularly to that very useful compilation, "Congress in Evolution" edited with great ability by Messrs. D. Chakrabarty and C. Bhattacharya and published by the Book Company at the price of Rs. 2-0.

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The Approach to Rural Uplift*

Bureaucratic *Versus* Democratic Methods.

BY PROF. BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA.

The establishment of the Village Industries Association and the Government of India's grant of a crore and 13 lakhs of rupees towards rural uplift have focussed public attention on the problem of our villages. It would be quite in the fitness of things, therefore, to discuss the methods of approach towards the various kindred ailments of our villages, especially in view of the attempts at centralisation and bureaucratisation in these matters also.

It is fundamental to remember, without, of course, making a fetish of it, the oft-mentioned but usually forgotten sociological fact that every village-group has a certain organic character of its own. The group enjoys a certain loyalty from its members; and has its own organisation, economic and administrative, all built up against the background of an evolving tradition. This need does not exclude readjustment and linking up with other groups. The village-reformer must possess some knowledge of the sociological foundations of the village, of the social background and the economic facts. Neither dictatorial fiat nor orders from the secretariat with an idea, however zealous and honest, to reconstruct villages, can be of any abiding effect; for an organic unit may only be reorganised, you cannot reconstruct it in the technical sense. A programme of rural uplift must either evolve and be correlated to the dynamics of village life, especially the reactions of the programme itself, or fail altogether of its objects.

The Linlithgow Report, after noting the 'great awakening of non-official interest in the health and welfare of the countryside,' observed: "It is from this manifestation of public interest that we derive our greatest encouragement and hope." Their plea for the establishment of Agricultural Associations² and the very appreciative references to the work, for instance, of the Servants of India Society, the Rural Reconstruction Centres of the Y. M. C. A. and the Bombay Mutual Aid scheme worked through the *Upacharakas*³ all bring into relief the fundamental approach of the Commission. While emphasising the very important

* The following is the substance of a talk before the Indian Institute of Economics, Calcutta, by Prof. Banerjee, in initiating a discussion on the topic.

(1) P. 488. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India.

(2) P. 157 Ibid.

(3) P. 486 Ibid.

part which the Government so long had neglected to play in the matter of financing and co-ordinating rural development the Commission observes: "If the cultivators of India in the mass are to be won over to the use of better seeds, to improve methods of cultivation, to the better care of cattle, to the adoption of precautions against animal or plant disease it must be through the agency of their own organisations. Nothing else will suffice."⁴

In the light of the above, the recent methods of the Government in the disbursement and allocation of the Rural Development Grant, in relation to co-operative organisations and in the matter of introducing drastic legislative changes in the economic sphere without the complementary steps for economic betterment, cannot be regarded as a good augury for the future of the rural uplift work. A great deal has been made of officially-initiated rural welfare work in the Punjab. Yet we find Mr. M. L. Darling exposing the hollowness of such attempts especially those associated with that deservedly famous official Mr. F. L. Brayne. Of the uplift campaign at Gurgaon, he notes, that little now survives except the manure pit and the Persian wheel, and these only where conditions are favourable.⁵ The Gurgaon plough has been a complete failure and Rs. 28,000 advanced by Government for its purchase has had to be remitted. The work at Jhelum which Mr. Brayne next took up, regarding that as a more favourable field has not prospered well and extravagant expenditure on the pet schemes of the official who happens to be in charge of the area was one of the standing complaints of the people.⁶ Rightly does Mr. Darling conclude: "My journals would have been written in vain if they have not made it clear that in the Punjab the village is still a living organism, as full of wisdom as of waste and as much illuminated by the old light as any town is by the new. Like *pipal* tree which often guards its approaches, this wisdom is deeply rooted in the soil of the past, and is the best guardian of the village. By its side the wisdom of the new age is a mere sapling, which has still to show that it can take root and stand up against draught, dust-storm and flood It is to the village, therefore, that we must look for its regeneration, and to the peasant that we must go to ascertain its needs and desires."⁷

The 'ma-bap' theory of bureaucratic rule in the country has, I submit, the least potentiality in the sphere of rural regeneration. It is on the development of rural initiative that the success of movements with these ends must depend. The Linlithgow Report realised this. In discussing the problems of the co-operative movement, the Report empha-

(4) P. 468 Ibid.

(5) *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village*, p. 199.

(6) P. 38 Ibid.

(7) Ibid, p. 347-48.

sised that the only remedy for the evils in this sphere was the "patient and persistent" education of the members of societies ;" and if a choice has to be made between arrangements for audit and of education, the latter should receive preference."

The matter, though in an apparently narrower field, had been engaging the attention of co-operative leaders in the country. Recent pieces of legislation regarding the co-operative movement in the different provinces seemed to vie with each other to introduce what the C. P. Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Khaparde, adroitly described as "a benevolent dictatorship to a certain extent for a time." The retort courteous on behalf of non-officials to such attempts, to quote Mr. Ramadas Pantulu, is that if "the non-officials have failed to conduct the Movement on right lines and are incapable of improving even with official guidance and advice, the remedy is to wind up the Movement in the province and not to replace the non-official by the official agency, for dictatorship means nothing less." I am trying to emphasise that the recent attempt (not to go very back), since the Schuster Resolution of May, 1934 has been to centralise albeit for non-economic purposes, rural welfare work, which by its very nature cannot be approached from that angle." The dangers of the new move are pointed out in Darling's book, which I again quote because of the author's position and first-hand knowledge of officially-inspired movements. There is the danger of propaganda, firstly, because it is more akin to advertisement than to teaching and, secondly, because any teaching in this sphere in order to be effective "must be the teaching of the individual rather than of the mass." " Moreover, there is always the danger due to over-zeal : "For reconstruction a long view is needed and great patience."

The problem of leadership or even of finance need not be insurmountable. I think that, given *adequate* scope, rural leadership, even from the local unsophisticated people, would be available. Government can properly play the role of adviser and act as a clearing-house for information. It might finance and support with expert assistance model centres, the light from which will be passed on to kindle newer and newer lamps in distant villages. Government might also make provision for the establishment of statutory village-panchayats, with power of self-taxation, for specific purposes which the village council might favour. This last I consider important. I have again the support of the Linlithgow Report in my favour.¹² There is the success of the

(8) Report, para 374.

(9) Ibid, para 378.

(10) cf. Rural Uplift ; The Democratic way : article by B. N. Banerjee, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Puja Special, 1935.

(11) Ibid., p. 345, *Rustious Loguttur*, p. 157. Also D. Spencer-Hatch—*Up from Poverty in Rural India*, p.86-89.

(12) Report, para 406.

Jugo-Slavia Health Organisation Scheme in support of its practicability and I have the Sri-Niketan Health Scheme sponsored by Rabindranath Tagore as a practical illustration." But a *caveat* should be entered here ; such associations should not suffer duality of control leading to irresponsibility. Responsibility to the small local group would be popular as well as democratic, the benefits of the scheme would be moral as well as socio-economic.

My other complaint is that the recent Government measures are piece-meal and even smack of short-sightedness. On the Schuster scheme, except certain appointments, not even a start has been made with regard to the other items notably :—(a) The improvement of grade standards by special committees in respect of particular commodities including dairying ; (b) Co-ordination of agricultural production ; (c) Establishment of a Central Bureau for Industrial Research ; (d) The appointment of additional Trade Commissioners abroad ; and last but not least—(e) The undertaking of a census of production advocated in the Bowley-Robertson Report.

In Bengal we had as the only aftermath of the Jute Enquiry Committee's Report the voluntary restriction scheme trumpeted all over the province not merely by propaganda but also, as several reports in the *Patrika* revealed, by the threat of the flourish of the 'big stick.' No steps have been taken to establish even the mockery proposed by the Majority Report, of tentative 'regulated' markets working in competition with the other markets working unhampered by legislation over the same area. We have not yet had the Jute Committee with its scope of activities so limited by the Majority Report that Clive Street might not feel embarrassed ; we have not been promised the era even at a distant date, of compulsory regulation of jute-cultivation, not to speak of a scheme of compensatory payments to accompany restriction. But we have on the Statute Book the Primary Education Act, the Bengal Waterways Act, the Bengal Money-lenders Act, and the Bengal Development Bill has been passed with minor changes. Now comes the Bengal Relief of Indebtedness Bill and the Resolution for ruralising education. The Government of Bengal, of course, has been slow in the matter of bringing forward this array of legislation, but in having them put in the Statute Book they have shown not so much commendable promptitude as haste which did not allow them to take public opinion much into consultation, not to speak of waiting for a more representative Council. But one wonders why there is this hurry to have these pieces of legislation, while most of them are not being put into operation.

The method of rural uplift through Government agencies stands condemned to-day in India on two principal grounds. First, an evolving democratic system in the country, especially the promise of an

impending instalment, should not be made to co-exist with and be dependent, in the slightest degree, on bureaucratic direction. Schemes, which would depend on the 'ma-bap' theory of administration through the omniscient and omni-competent Civilian Brahmins, would not only not strike their roots into the soil but would continue, even enhance, the great dependence of even the local 'self-governing' institutions on the local official. Secondly, if the people cannot be depended upon to organise themselves according to certain plans evolved for the province after due consultation of all interests affected and the experts (not necessarily)—one wonders what chances there can be of such scheme actually achieving the desired object of rural uplift, betterment or reconstruction.

The remarkable success of much of the Christian missionary efforts, in the sphere especially of education, is due to the democratic basis of this work and the very close relationship of such activities to the immediate needs of the villager.¹⁴ Intensive work should have to be undertaken in selected centres to tackle comprehensively and simultaneously those of the problems of a particular locality which can be tackled locally. The co-operative movement must play an important part in such activities and not the Department. The experience of such model centres should be pooled, conferences of workers should be held and rural uplift should be a people's movement. Such measure of compulsion or legislation as might be necessary should be the outcome of the suggestion of *bona-fide* workers in that sphere and not of bureaucrats. It is the democratisation and decentralisation of the whole machinery of rural uplift that can go to the root of the problems to tackle them most efficiently and economically.

(14) Vide : "Schools with a Message in India" and its recent supplementary booklet, "Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education", published by the Y.M.C.A.

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"Colour is the Sunshine of Life"

Mahatma Gandhi

BY L. N. SARIN, B.A.

BY common consent Mahatma Gandhi is one of the greatest men of all times. Abnegation of self finds its highest perfection in the Saint of Sabarmati. Humbler than the humblest, polite and meek Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of life consists in plain living and high thinking. Even in the most trying circumstances he is incredibly magnanimous. Ill-will and malice are foreign to his taste and deceit and treachery are words not to be found in his dictionary. Though essentially a man of the world he is preeminently free from the baser instincts of the flesh. Noble and ennobling he is the radiating focus of goodwill and high spiritualism. His life is a great book from which mankind can gather incalculable riches. If India is rightly proud of him the world at large has not been slow in recognising the moral force that his frail body reserves. It is characteristic of the man that he disarms even his most formidable critics by his magnetising personality and changes them into his warm admirers.

His Critics.

Like all great men he has his critics. Both in and out of India he has a set of vehement critics who have tried in all the possible ways to besmirch his good name. Ill-balanced narrow-visioned people have endeavoured, though in vain, to brand him as a rank communalist attempting to set up a Hindu Raj under the cloak of Nationalism. Orthodox Hinduism has not been slow in giving vent to spleen in opposing his anti-untouchability schemes. But such critics far from detracting from his greatness have only helped to endear him to the people in general. In fact the greatness of the man is so vast that posterity alone will be able to fathom the depth of his contributions to India in particular and the world in general. It will be for our future generations to reveal to human race its debts of gratitude to this 'half-naked fakir'. However severe the vehemence of his opponents in opposing him may have been, his own reply to them has never been anything different than what the poet has said—

Tumble me down, and I will sit
Upon my ruins, smiling yet.
Tear me to tatters, yet I will be
Patient in my necessity.
Laugh at my scarps of clothes and shun
Me as a feared infection :

Yet scare-crow like I will walk as one
Neglecting thy derision.

As a Moralist.

As a Moralist his teachings have constantly been the elevation of self to a higher region. For him strength of character consists in the power of self-restraint. "Chain up the unruly legion of the breast. Lead thine own captivity captive and be Caesar within thyself. Real glory springs from the conquest of ourselves and without that the conqueror is naught but the vilest slave." Such are his gospels and them he preaches day in and day out through his own example. His life work is a great inspiration to those dwarfed souls whom corruption has so degenerated that they are unable to see beyond their own small noses. Both as a moralist and social reformer Mahatma Gandhi has acquired great distinction and infused new life into the decadent Indian society. He has purged it of all unhealthy and devitalising influences and given a timely death-blow to the most iniquitous institution of Untouchability. His greatness lies in his sincerity and his simplicity makes it all the more grand. Non-diplomatic and God-fearing his love of truth is one of his rarest gifts. His firmness of character added to his purity of thought constantly preaches that

"Tis he is the coward who proves false to his vows,
To his manhood, his honour, for a laugh or a sneer,
Tis he is the hero who stands firm, though alone,
For Truth and the Right without flinching or fear"

As a Politician.

By virtue of his high spiritualism Mahatma Gandhi is inherently devoid of those instincts that are the *summum bonum* of a Politician. Politics is a game of wirepulling. It is a gamble in compromises and supports the view that the end justifies the means. Truth, Idealism and Soul Force—the cardinal points of his political philosophy, are probably taboos in the political world. Idealism divorced from reality, once very correctly said Panditt Motilal Nehru, has no place in politics. However high pitched the ideal may be, and the higher the better, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical considerations. Mass revolution based upon mass awakening not likely to achieve the Independence of a people torn asunder by social cracks and religious fissures. The Satanic Government despite its weak points has its obvious redeeming features and his advocacy of its total boycott is therefore not likely to carry conviction. Nor it is likely to bring our cherished goal any the nearer for it. The edifice of Purna Swaraj, for which of course no sacrifice would be too great, cannot be completed in a year or two when the material in hand is so very unfavourable and the foundation on which the mansion is being raised is obviously so very weak.

Conclusion.

If unsuccessful as a Politician Mahatma Gandhi is still an "awful soul if the world has ever lodged one". Though dominated by a mighty purpose it is his signal pride that he has never allowed baser considerations to mutilate or warp his purity of thought and action. In all his greatness, his high conception of life, his saintly character this idol of his country reminds one of Shakespeare's immortal lines where he said—"What a piece of work is man! How infinite in faculties! In form and motion how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! The beauty of the world. The paragon of animals".

May the great Saint of Sabarmati live long, happy and prosperous.



Economic Depressions

BY S. L. NARASIAH, B. A.

THE world has recently passed through a period of unprecedented fall in prices. Whether termed low prices, trade depression or world slump or whatever other name it goes by, the thing is the same. Commercially no country today is independent. Commercial internationalism is a world force and whatever affects production, consumption, currency, and credit of a country affects prices. In considering the price level in India external and internal forces that are general and peculiar to our country are to be taken into account.

The quantity of money and the demand for it, the quantity of commodities and the demand for the same are factors that determine general prices. A rise in the value of the standard coin, and a fall in the value of commodities combined or each by itself leads to a fall in prices. When the value of gold rises, less of it would be required for the purchase of, say, wheat, and its price falls. If both gold and wheat change in value at the same time, the result would be either a fall or rise according to the direction and the amount of change. If the change is in opposite directions gold rising and wheat falling, the fall in wheat price would indeed be great.

A fall in prices may be caused either by overproduction or underconsumption, by high tariff, by maldistribution of gold, by new substitutes, by a sudden drain of gold or a general contraction of credit that causes a great shrinkage in the total supply of money.

OVERPRODUCTION.

A general rise in prices is a violent stimulus to trade. A period of high prices is followed by a period of low prices and trade depressions. It leads to fraudulent speculation with its tendency to over-trade. Overproduction is the result of cut-throat competition. The natural tendency to reach superior efficiency through an enlargement of the productive scale brings about additional cheapness of production. To drive his rivals in business out of the field the larger investor increases his output enormously. Science is developing with marvellous rapidity and inventions are pretty common contributing to a greater, and still greater rationalisation of the productive processes.

Things are produced now not so much to meet a known demand, but because of the power that machinery gives to produce, and if demand

is to keep pace with the increased output, it is to be stimulated by every mode of artistic advertisement. The whole of Western Europe has specialised in the use of machinery and in the Asiatic countries it has an immense outlet for its finished goods.

But owing to the industrialisation of America, Japan and other countries, the tables have turned. Russia and India are getting industrialized, and ominous signs are not wanting. The picture even now is quite gloomy. In the production of wheat, for instance, America is far ahead of every other state. Scientific methods and capitalistic farming have increased her production thirty-fold. The output is so great that a part of it has to be thrown overboard to clear the barns and prevent the fall in price below the cost price until her ingenuous sons have found a new use for it by substituting it for foreign coal in their mills and factories, while tens of thousands that once worked the mills are on the brink of starvation. The point is not peculiar to any but illustrative of the plight of every state that pins its faith on machinery for economic salvation.

But there are some who say that 'there can be nothing like general overproduction,' and that the term is a mere abuse of language. Since goods are exchanged for goods in the long run, all that is wrong with the world is only a temporary break-down in the machinery of exchange which a little common-sense might set right. General overproduction, say they, means that those who made the sacrifice in the production and sale of goods have to wait a longer while than they expected before they reap the reward, which they claim as their own. Waiting is not always easy. So producers have to let go their profit and something more.

They say that there can be no overproduction of the good things of the earth so long as a single want remains unfulfilled. As a matter of fact numerous wants remain unfulfilled because of the want of means wherewith to purchase them. When unemployment is rife and the purchasing power of the masses is at the lowest, it cannot but be otherwise. They overlook the capital fact that goods are the embodiment of past sacrifices, and that time is the essence of the thing, and has a value of its own apart from the intrinsic value of goods. When the output is large, a little delay involves serious loss because of the great labour and capital involved, and of the loss of interest and deterioration in value.

UNDER-CONSUMPTION.

The difficulty of adjusting production to the fluctuations of the demand causes overproduction. The difference in the rate of output and the rate of sale represents the amount of overproduction. This is brought about by an increase of supply the demand remaining constant, or by a decrease in demand when the supply remains constant. When the supply increases, and demand falls as it was the case recently, the

trade position would be terrible indeed. Demand pertains to future, and there is always an element of uncertainty about it. A change of fashion or a change in taste, a new substitute, a flood, an earthquake or a war may shatter all calculations, and by lessening demand may lead to over-supply.

The wholesale introduction of specialised machinery has made depressions a permanent feature of modern economic system. Depressions are ascribed to some material cause such as wasteful expenditure of millions of money as sinews of war, the failure or destruction of a staple crop or cereal in some part of the world due to or by a frost, a flood, a hurricane or an earthquake, or to psychological causes such as a panicky state of mind among businessmen as reaction to feverish and inordinate speculative activity.

HIGH TARIFF.

Protection is the cry everywhere. It is looked upon as the panacea for all economic ills, the one sovereign remedy for acute unemployment and deficit national finance. America, Germany, and France have long been wedded to it, and England, the champion of Free Trade, though not without some hesitancy, has accepted it as the one that fits in best with her existing economic conditions. England offered payment of her War debt instalments in cotton and other finished articles. America refused to accept the same because it would mean flooding her over-flooded markets, because it would mean less money in the pockets of her manufacturers, and less employment for her workers. Turkey, Syria, China, India, and others are like the rest growing more and more nationalistic, and want to work out their economic regeneration by too close a policy of protection. Every country wants to send as many exports as possible, but receive few imports or, if possible, none at all. Gold cash or hard bullion from or at the expense of others is the selfish aim of all. Behind high tariff walls a sound economic system is sought to be built. Mass production has increased, markets are glutted, and prices fallen.

MAL-DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD.

With the Great War political power and economic prosperity have gravitated from Europe to America. During the insecurity of the times people felt that America was the safest place for the custody of gold. The protectionist policy she pursues and the rise in her export trade during the war have greatly added to the store of her gold. The currency inflations, which the war has given rise to, led to the flight of gold from one continent to the other. From time to time America received colossal sums towards war debts, and interest thereon. Inflation ceased and currencies became stabilized, but capital being timid did not move back. About 30 per cent of the output of gold is being locked up in America alone, while the reparation clauses and the policy of self-sufficiency have put France in possession of about 25 per cent more.

CONTRACTION OF CREDIT AND CURRENCY.

War reparations fastened on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles amounted to £6,600 millions. They found it impossible to pay regularly the instalments. England lent to the Allies excluding Russia a sum of £1,300 millions and in her turn owed to America £945 millions. She received not a farthing, but thought it a point of honour to pay to the full. The reparations and War debt payments led to disproportionate accumulation of currency in the debtor-countries. Capital became scarce, currency dislocated, and industry and trade paralysed.

Besides, nations like individuals took to indiscriminate borrowing, and so long they could get money there was a semblance of prosperity. But when America refused further advances and insisted on the payment of debts and interest, they appeared in their true bald state. The general aversion to receive imports or payments in kind—either raw materials or finished articles, added to a policy of protection and self-sufficiency, did not allow mal-distribution of gold to have its natural normal corrective by a free flow of the metal from land to land. Worse still, except in India there is an embargo on gold export in every state.

For ages England had been the world's credit market. Ever since she joined the Allies America flung her moneys to the Allies. Nations borrowed beyond their capacity to repay. But when it came to a question of reckoning and repayment in the early thirties of century, there was a sudden drying up of the flow and the nations that hoped to live on credit found themselves in great difficulty.

Times grew nervous. Banks restricted the issue of cheques, notes, and bills, not liking the idea of being paid in depreciated currency. Due to the locking of securities on long term loans bank failures became a common phenomenon. France withheld short term credit from Germany, and pulled out of America every franc held there. The Rothschild Bank of Vienna, one of the most powerful international banking concerns failed, and the fears that others would follow suit paralysed business.

Credit is so sensitive that a small narrowing of it leads to a temporary destruction of a large part of it. Any drain on supply or on demand of money does likewise affect the currency of a country. Unfounded fears of England's inability to meet her obligations in gold led to foreign withdrawals from the Bank of England and forced her to be off gold standard thereby bringing in a new element of uncertainty into the financial world. State after state were off gold standard, and considerably depreciated their currencies so as to 'buy high' and 'sell low'.

Nor it is all. In some cases national Governments have by state grants and subsidies encouraged 'dumping' of foreign markets. The overflowing of the Indian markets by cheap Japanese cloth, and

of those of Europe by Japanese artificial silks and hosiery articles have forced down prices.

ARTIFICIAL PRODUCTS.

Add to overproduction due to improved methods and capitalistic organisation of industry synthetic chemistry in recent years is responsible for the manufacture of artificial products on a commercial scale so as to displace natural ones from the market. Though India has a natural monopoly in jute, it is being replaced by other kinds of fibres such as hemp, while our ground-nut is in danger of being ousted from the foreign market by soya bean from Manchuria. Japan has largely driven natural silks of India, China, France, and Italy by her artificial silk goods. Natural sugar is in fear of sharing a similar fate on account of the sweet suff, which is being prepared by Germany out of obnoxious waste. The discovery of indigo by Baeyer of Germany in 1830 from coal tar, which was till then considered a useless by-product of the coal gas industry, sealed the fate of the important agricultural product, and completely eliminated it from the field of competition.

MARKET CONDITIONS.

To the general causes a few more peculiar to India need be added. From year to year the Indian farmer produced as a matter of course, ignorant of the market conditions here and abroad. He does not know the conditions of the inland market much less of the foreign one. He is ignorant of the future market, Indian and foreign alike, and there is no statistical department to keep him on the know of things, to put him on his guard, to regulate, control, and direct production when necessary.

THE QUESTION OF CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

While with the enormous import of the white metal the value of silver fell to half of what it was, the rupee value has remained at 18d. The rate fixed is high. Though the sterling gained in stability, the rupee cannot depreciate to find its natural level. The appreciated rupee value brought about 50 per cent fall in the commodity prices with the result that India was at a serious disadvantage in competition with countries with depreciated currencies. There was a phenomenal fall in her exports, the trade balance became adverse, and foreign obligations were to be met by shipment of gold. Prices fell, currency contracted, credit sank, and debts swelled.

The rise in the ranks of the unemployed, the retrenchment schemes, the cuts in salaries, the irregular payments and the frittering of wealth in quest of pleasure in foreign lands add to gravity of the situation.

THE EFFECTS.

Overproduction, or under-consumption of wealth, a heavy drain of gold, or a serious contraction of currency and credit, a new substitute,

a war, a flood, a famine or an earthquake may each by itself cause a depression. But when these combine and conspire against man as they have done recently, the result is too terrible to speak of.

A period of depression or low prices is far more deadly than a flood, famine, plague or pestilence. While the latter is at any time confined to a particular locality the former is, under modern conditions, all-pervading and co-extensive with the world.

With the fall in price and the slackening in demand, factories are either closed or on short work. New recruits have swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Hundreds of thousands are forced below a decent standard of living, and scores of thousands are on the verge of destitution, while thousands suffer from mal- or under-nutrition. In the industrial centres plaintive wails of the weak, and bread riots of the hungry are familiar phenomena.

From the prince to the peasant everyone in the country is more or less affected by the depression. Agricultural prices are low and the income of the vast bulk of the population is at its minimum. Natural adjustment of prices, wages and debts has become an impossibility. If there is a fall in the obligations and debt burdens corresponding to that of the income from agricultural production, there would be no suffering and no grievance. But loans, rents, and revenue expressed in terms of money and payable under contracts have not been adjusted. Burdened with long recurring debts contracted at a time when the rupee was worth less in terms of commodities, the Indian farmer has to part with one and a half times the produce to meet his obligations, the fall in price being about 50 per cent. He has to meet the situation by retrenchment of his budget, by withholding payment to the moneylender and the landlord in part or as a whole, by sale of gold ornaments, and by further borrowings.

The poverty does not rest with and confine itself to the agriculturist alone. It reacts on other interest and classes, and confronts them all with dire calamity. The moneylender, the merchant, the doctor, the lawyer the landlord, and the prince has each his own share to bear.

The Government is not an exception either. Low prices have worked havoc with finance as well. With the fall in trade there is a fall in the land revenue, in the export and import duties and in other taxable varieties. Cuts and retrenchments are unpopular and strongly resisted. They alleviate but do not permanently meet the situation. To meet the budget has become a problem and a strenuous task.

REMEDIES.

The world has passed through a dark and dismal period, perhaps the darkest and the most dismal since the world began. We have, perhaps, the picture of man and machinery at their worst. No people, and no government are quite immune from its visitation. With no territorial limit set to its jurisdiction it deals with all with an even hand, a heavy and a hard

one too. In bitter anguish people cry where there is no remedy, and no way out. Different economists suggest different methods, but none so far with anything like success. The disease is deadly, the complications are great, hard to diagnose and harder still to cure. Bimetallism is an oft-suggested remedy. But if it is to be effective, it is to be international in character. National bimetallism is worse than the disease it is intended to cure. The difficulties and dangers apart, international bimetallism is not feasible for the simple reason that the advanced nations are not unanimous and not prepared for any one common line of action. The conference at Paris to promote uniformity of action in international money matters was a signal failure. All except Holland made it a point of honour to adopt gold standard and stick to it. The other at Brussels fared no better. The American delegates favoured the coinage of silver by nations at a ratio to be agreed upon. Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland opposed. Germany was not even represented, France maintained a waiting attitude, and England set her face against the modification of her system. Theoretical dogmas however logical would not satisfy her practical sons. Gold standard has brought prosperity to her shores and she would naturally prefer to stick to it. It is only recently when circumstances proved too strong for her that she decided to give it up, perhaps to revert to it as soon as conditions, through an international agreement would prove favourable.

The burden of war debts has dislocated international trade. Unless, and until the war debt agreements are revised in such a way as to remove the strain on the economy of individual nations and stabilize exchanges, there can be no solution for the world depression. This would entail heavy loss on creditor countries such as France, America and England. But if contracts are insisted upon as sacred and inviolable, all countries, creditor and debtor alike, must be prepared to face a common catastrophe.

England shows her readiness to implement any commonly agreed plan of action; and favourable gestures by way of the Hoover Moratorium and Roosevelt's acceptance of token payment for June instalment of 1933 are not wanting on the part of America. But France is insistent. As on former occasions the love of selfish gain and the spirit of narrow nationalism are too strong for a common international action.

The dearth of gold, and its inability to function as the standard of currency and exchange are put by some economists at the root of the present depression. International paper currency, say they, like paper currency within the limits of a state dispenses, to a great extent, with metallic money, and makes large transactions possible. The imperfections of currency are due to its being dependent on one metal or other. Over-supply or under-supply of the money metal lead to the instability of currency. With no supply price international paper may be said to be free from such uncertain factors. As an ideal it is, no doubt, well in its way and if achieved, may bring in happy results. But nations have grown too individualistic. The wordy professions and the world Conferences.

notwithstanding, hypocrisy, insincerity mutual distrust, international jealousies and rivalries leave no room for international co-operation and united action.

Uneven distribution of gold is, according to some, the cause of the trouble. It has been the result of accumulation in America and France due in part to high tariffs and trade barriers, and in part to balance of payments, in which way debts and reparations have played so conspicuous a part. Let there be free flow of the metal, they say, and everything goes the right way with the economic world.

But how?—is the short question. These two countries must either lend more money or import more goods both raw and finished. As matters stand, neither course seems likely to be followed and the question would remain where it ever did.

With the growth of a feeling of exclusive and narrow nationalism since the Great War economists and politicians have come to look at things from the point of view of individual nations. Protection and co-operation have become articles of faith within small circles and groups. Free trade and competition are now more a matter of policy in external trade with a view to exploit and profit. If normal conditions are to obtain, the currency depreciations, the protective and preventive tariffs and the dumping on foreign markets, which the nations have launched upon, ought to go.

The remedies sought do but touch the fringe of the problem. The universal adoption of bimetallism, of international paper currency or even better distribution of gold would but effect a partial cure of the complicated economic malady in so far it relates to faulty currency systems. The abolition of inter-state trade barriers would likewise put an end to the ills of too close a policy of protection. But it is a wrong assumption to make that one or the other of these would restore the normal state of things. It is the fallacy of specialization. Experts often fail to see things in their due proportions.

Though often overlooked overproduction is the root disease. Underconsumption that lowers the price level is the same thing as the other expressed from a different view-point. The one is from the point of view of the producer; the other from that of the consumer. If demand increases and keeps pace with production, everything goes the right way. But demand has slackened with increase of unemployment which has been brought about by the dominance of labour-saving machinery. The purchasing power of the bulk of humanity all the world over, especially in agricultural countries has sunk to the lowest level on account of the policy of agricultural protectionism pursued by industrial countries.

A decrease in the ranks of the unemployed means an increase of work of mills and factories, which cannot but result in overproduction if no part of the specialised machinery goes out of use. Economical production and equitable distribution are what the industrial world now needs. Free trade and cut-throat competition are to be brought under control.

If machinery is to be a real blessing, higher real wages, and greater leisure though shorter hours are to be insured to the worker. A uniform four-hour-day with no reduction in the wages paid may solve the problem. But how? Would the industrialist forego a farthing of his profit? Would he agree to share his income with the labourer? The capitalist sits in his pew on Sunday and hears the parson preach against wealth and the abuse of it and goes on Monday morning to add pile to pile forgetting his duty to man and God.

Money has come to be the end, of life the one thing worth having and worth striving for. Man in his at onement with Mammon has forgotten the moral value of things. Faith in God, trust in man, the desire to live and let live, the need for peace, justice and fair play and a genuine concern for the good of all are what the mechanically-minded world sorely needs.

The remedies followed by individual states do but meet the situation halfway. In a world seething with intense economic nationalism concerted action in international matters is beside the question, and to follow any other is unwise and suicidal. When leading nations become economically aggressive, the instinct of self-preservation requires that others should follow suit to defend themselves till the folly is recognised and the scramble for the yellow metal ceases. To escape the uncertainties of foreign trade, markets nearer home must be ensured. With the lowering of the exchange rate, India would cease to be the dumping ground, and her sons would have the long-needed protection to foster their industries and agriculture. With a number of the principal and industrially developed countries driven off gold, the issue of the gold standard is not quite certain just now. But the view held by the League of Nations Committee which went into this question sometime ago seems to be substantially sound: taking all the circumstances into account no system seems to hold out so high a promise of rehabilitating the chaotic conditions of world's currency, finance and exchange as that based on gold. Should an international agreement be reached on this point. India should not have a moment's hesitation to fall into line with the course adopted by the general body of the civilised and industrially advanced countries. The adoption of the gold standard, under such circumstances, would improve her economic position, simplify the complexities of her exchange problem and help considerably to stabilize the value of the yellow metal and the general price level throughout the world.

The Bengal Agricultural Debtors Bill and After

BY SATISH CHANDRA RAY CHOWDHURY, M.L.C.,
Advocate.

THE Bengal Agricultural Debtors Bill which raised the greatest controversy in the country we have had in recent times, over legislative proposals, has been successfully piloted through the Bengal Council and is now awaiting the sanction of the ultimate authority. The heat and dust of the controversy having now been laid low, and the measure being now a *fait accompli*, it is possible to take a proper measure of its likely effect on the well-being of the people without being swayed by prejudice on either side. Such an attempt may also be welcomed by the sponsors of the measure and by those on whom the responsibility for its successful working rests, as I propose to indicate where the rocks and shoals lie in this uncharted sea of experimental legislation in the economic field so that a shipwreck may be avoided, if possible.



Mr. Satish Chandra Ray Chowdhury

The Government by agreeing to limit the life of the Act virtually to 5 years admitted that the measure was an emergency measure which ought not to be made to work for all times. An emergent piece of legisla-

tion is always more or less an inroad on the accepted principles of law and jurisprudence and repugnant to the common-sense of a civilised community. Such a measure is tolerated for the time being to prevent society being threatened with greater evils. In an well-ordered society, and in a country governed with the consent of the people or for the welfare of the people in general, emergency legislation is confined within very narrow limits and usually in the political sphere. The reason is plain. You can hunt down a terrorist, one conspiring to overthrow the Government on the strength of an emergency criminal law or even disregarding all laws, without creating anything like a general revulsion

of feeling or a sense of insecurity in the body politic. But you cannot, and no Government can, with impunity extend the principle of emergency legislation to the economic sphere especially when the same aims at ameliorating the condition of a section, however important, at the cost of other sections of the community. The nervous experiment on a modest scale made in America where the President is backed by popular will, under the N. R. A., and the repeated failures of the plans there, may be cited as recent instances of dismal results of legislative interference with the course of commercial and economic readjustment. If Britain has escaped without disaster, it is due to her conservative instincts to tread slowly and cautiously in such matters.

Unfortunately in this country, particularly in Bengal, the unbiassed considerations of any legislative measure becomes an impossibility and its safe passage through the Council becomes assured, as soon as a communal colouring is given to it. The Government at present is exploiting the situation to its advantage i.e., to protect itself from the charge of sitting idle and doing nothing to relieve the gloom, but the game is not without its dangers as time will show.

The first principle that the measure has introduced in the field of legislation in this country is that it is perfectly legitimate to repudiate all obligations based on the existing laws on the ground of expediency to propitiate a particular class. This principle, it is feared, will gather force as it goes on working till the national mind is completely purged of all traditional ideas and beliefs—a result which will be welcome in many quarters where it is desired that India should move as fast as some countries of Europe. Who can say that this will be an unmixed evil? Our vested classes should learn their first lessons in revolutionary legislation and should seek fresh fields and new allies henceforth.

The second glaring feature which also runs counter to the traditional ideas and faiths, is that the Goddess of Justice must henceforth cease to sit in her old and fortified temple hidebound by rules and procedure. She will now walk abroad unfettered and unhampered, now smiling on one and now frowning on another as she pleases, dispensing the same kind of justice as has been immortalised in the trial of the unfortunate queen Marie Antoinette by Judge Hermann and on the same kind of evidence. This again will be reckoned as a distinct gain by the protagonists of force in the realms of our social, economic and political activities. It is idle to expect that Government will be judicious in the selection of the Board to be entrusted with the working of this odious measure, so that in its working it may become less harmful and less offensive than it appears. No safeguards have been provided for that in the Act. It only remains to see how far the rule-making power of the Government will be utilised to that end.

The next noteworthy feature of the measure which will make any honest debtor shudder and will possibly make for his ultimate ruin is

that any attempt on his part to bring the provisions of the Act into operation in his favour will result in his having to face all his creditors all at once with the possibility of a bankruptcy at the end of the process—a none too pleasant prospect for honest and respectable debtors whose percentage is the highest. This alone may turn it into a dead letter. Such a composition with all creditors might be feasible and successful only if the Government were prepared through some agencies to advance long term loans to liquidate all existing debts. But such an obligation the Government is not prepared to shoulder. The rule-making power here cannot avail much against the clear provisions of the law.

The natural and sure method of relief of debtors is by reducing the rate of interest to the lowest possible limit and by relying on the powers of the existing courts of justice to grant easy instalments supplemented by Governmental measures to augment the income of the agriculturists. These have not been given the full chance for reasons which do not lie on the surface. Artificial respiration cannot long keep alive a man unless the vital powers of his body are restored. The destruction of the agriculturists' credit by eliminating the creditors altogether amounts to the loss of his vital powers and the virtual digging of his grave. No creditor will be deluded by the provision limiting the life of the present Act to 5 years to advance any further loan. The rule of law has lost its sanctity to him. He will be a fool to rely on the enactment for his future guidance.

The Government as a result of its own act will be faced in the near future with a terrible outcry to supply the credit it has destroyed, for, of all classes the agriculturists are badly in need of credit at every stage. They require credit to replenish their cattle, they require credit from the sowing to the harvesting time. The Government must therefore be ready to meet such a call on its resources if it really intends to stand by the agriculturists in their hour of need. The abandonment of the time-honoured straight path of economic readjustment has paved the way for the creation of complications to meet which the resources of the Government are probably not adequate.

The Bengal Act has in another direction gone far beyond similar legislation in other provinces and that without the least shadow of justification. Everywhere rent, like land revenue, has remained outside the scope of such measures. Why include it here unless to humiliate the landlords and to warn them of the broken reed in the shape of promise of protection by Government, they are relying on. Look at the picture of the zemindar standing before his tenants composing the Board—all of them owing to him—to give a full decree of the rents with interests, advancing as a plea that he has had already to pay his land revenue by borrowing, and his prayer being summarily rejected then and there. The full implication of this would be realised if the Collector were to appeal to a body of taxpayers constituted as arbitrators as to how much the Government is to get. The rent as first charge has, of course, disappeared from the Bill as passed.

creating an uncertainty in the sphere of collection of what is termed as land revenue in some other provinces. This is calculated to bring home to the landholders that there are numerous ways reserved to our legislature of undoing them in spite of the specious promise contained in the Government of India Act of 1935, regarding the Permanent Settlement. It will be as much a welcome feature of the new order as the others dealt with above, if it opens their eyes and they realise the abyss on the brink of which they are standing.

Can the Government yet retrieve the position is a question too difficult to answer. It can at least do something to mitigate the evil which is apprehended from the working of this measure. *Firstly*, it can make experiment with the Act in some localities for a time to gauge its potentialities for good or evil and gain experience before introducing it generally. *Secondly*, by making the land mortgage banks a reality instead of a show as at present, it can confine the operation of the new Act only to certain specified areas and to extreme cases. *Thirdly*, the Boards should be constituted in a way so that its personnel may command confidence of all interests involved, keeping at arms' length all communalists and partisans, no matter what their stamp of loyalty may be, and the same should be under the strictest possible supervision. *Lastly*, The Government should address itself to the creation of village credit agencies to replace the creditors without delay

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A Note on Sugar Industry in Bengal

BY DWIJENDRA NATH MITTER

The Mills in India :

In the year 1931, owing to the imposition of a duty of Rs. 9-1 a. per cwt. of foreign sugar, an impetus was given to India to develop her sugar industry. As a result of this 31 new factories were established during the year to prepare sugar from cane, and 12 more from molasses ; and in the following two years 30 mills were erected each with a capital of nearly 15 crores of rupees. But Bengal could not develop any, the cause of which may be attributed principally to the following two facts :—(a) A capital of about Rs. 12 to 15 lakhs is required to found a big factory ; Bengal owing to her poverty cannot meet this gigantic sum. (b) The cultivation of sugar-cane in Bengal has not reached the optimum development.

To show the present position of Sugar Industry in India, let us borrow some facts and figures from *The Indian Commercial And Statistical Review* July, 1934, edited by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Province	Number of Mills	Crushing capacity in tons.
Bengal	5	1,175
Bihar and Orissa	34	16,270
United Provinces	76	29,130
Punjab	9	2,750
Bombay	8	1,850
Kathewar	1	
Madras	9	475
Mysore	1	550
Travancore	1	
Burma	1	400
Total	145	52,600

Bengal's position.

"In Bengal sugar is derived from three sources, sugar-cane, date-palm, and palmyra, but the outturn of the last is negligible . . . The total area under sugar-cane in Bengal is reported as approximately 2,00,000 acres, and the normal yield of *gur* at 37 mds. per acre ; but recent crop-cutting experiments indicate that the yield has increased to over 50 mds. per acre. This is due to the introduction of the improved varieties of cane by the agricultural department. Taking the lower figure of 37 mds. of

gur per acre, the total production of cane becomes 7,400,000 mds. In addition to this, date-palm juice yields *gur* estimated at about 2,856,500 mds. making a total of 10,266,500 mds...Turning to the possibilities of white sugar manufacture in this province, some comparison with other cane-growing parts of India might be made. First, it may be safely stated that the climatic condition in Bengal are generally more favourable than up-country. This means a longer and heavier rainfall, with a corresponding longer period of growth. The grey silt areas, too, usually consist of fairly rich soil, so that these two factors should and do produce a heavier yielding crop than in most other provinces, provided ordinary care is taken with cultivation...Sugar factories in Bengal should therefore be more profitable than in other provinces in India as the cost of production is comparatively low."

Sugar Marketing.

If with the application of electricity, good crystalliser, pans etc, fine sugar is prepared, there is no ground to believe that such a fine production cannot check the demands for foreign sugar or supplant it altogether. And because at the present time the Indian mills can produce sugar to such a large extent as to supply the needs of home consumption, the most dexterous method to vanquish the influence of foreign sugar would be :—

(a) The establishment of a Marketing Board through which sugar should be sold at prices as low as possible consistent with the production of an output sufficient to meet at least the needs of home consumption.

(b) Governmental co-operation as well as that of the Railway in point of levying adequate duties on foreign sugar and charging cheaper rates to carry home sugar from one centre to another.

Possibilities in Bengal.

Now as Bengal is in a highly languished economic condition, she cannot spend lakhs or crores for the establishment of mills and her hopes of creating a big emporium of sugar recede to the distant future. But it should not be difficult for her to erect small mills on the basis of cottage industries. An experienced merchant suggests in the *Indian Economist* that a small steam, oil or electricity driven engine, some pans, 3 or 4 centrifugal machines etc., which together will not cost more than eight thousand rupees, will suffice to produce molasses and sugar from 800 to 16,000 maunds. If a lakh or a crore be a matter of dream or impossibility to Bengal, certainly a few thousands would not fall under either category; and as she has got every facility for the development of the sugar industry, her soil being rich, and cost of production low, these thousands would be sufficient to start small sugar mills on a cottage industry basis. These will do much and glorious work in providing countless unemployed youths, dismissed servants, and orphan boys, who seem to be glad today to embrace death before their time, with profitable employment and save them from untimely death or damnation.

The Brahma Vibaha and the Sarda Act

BY DHARANI MOHAN RAY,
Zemindar, Royail, Dacca.

WHILE the author and supporters of the Sarda Bill were making efforts for its enactment which had the effect of depriving the high caste Hindus of their freedom to perform *Brahma Vibaha* according to their holy Shastras, all the religious Hindus emphatically protested against the Bill. Moreover, all renowned Pandits supported the *Brahma Vibaha* by *Shashtra Bidhis* (scriptural injunctions) and their excellent interpretations to the best of their ability. But as a matter of fact there are some gentlemen even among the Hindus who by reason of their foreign education and neglect to ascertain the truths of the *Shashtra Bidhis* by proper researches are not in a position to accept them as free from all doubts and errors unless their truths are established by irrefutable proofs and arguments. I have, therefore, tried in the following lines to support the *Shashtra Bidhis* in connection with the *Brahma Vibaha* by a reference to certain facts and arguments.

The *Brahma Vibaha*, which is based upon religion and spirituality, is one of the chief *Sanskaras* (sacramental ceremonials) which are being observed by the high caste Hindus from time immemorial with a view to preserving the purity and sanctity as well as the very existence of their community. It is admittedly the best of the eight different kinds of marriages mentioned in the Hindu Shastras. It differs in essence from what is popularly known as 'marriage' in most countries in that it is a religious sacrament in the shape of gift connected with spirituality and binds a male and a female with a tie irrevocable throughout their life time while the so-called 'marriage' is no more than a contract between a man and a woman so that they can live together as husband and wife so long as they do not quarrel and make a fresh contract with others for that purpose. The former is naturally unconnected with sexual gratification but the latter is connected with it on the very day of the ceremony and during honey-moon. The minds of sufficiently grown up girls who secure their respective *Patis* (husbands) out of their own choice cannot naturally be free from sexual lust and therefore they are disqualified for observing the *Brahma Vibaha* which according to the holy Shastras must be performed before the puberty of girls (प्राग्दानम् कृतोः) The *Brahma Vibaha* is also called *Sampradanam* (सम्प्रदानम्) and

one of its principal objects is to sow the seed of *Sateetwa* (commonly but inadequately rendered as 'chastity') in the minds of young girls when they are still pure and tender. As a girl generally becomes a learned lady if the seed of learning is sown seasonably in her tender mind, so a girl generally becomes a *Satee* (a chaste woman) if the seed of *Sateetwa* is sown timely (i. e. before puberty) in her soft mind. Hence one of the greatest psychologists of all times the sage Angira has prescribed for it the age of 8 or 9 or 10 years (i. e. ages before puberty). And there can be no better system of *Vibaha* for that purpose. If the Hindu ladies violate *Sateetwa*, then the Hindus who claim the distinction of being a pure race shall become a mixed race like any other and in this way they shall also be subject to the vices that are mentioned in the divine *Bhagabata Geeta* and condemned in very strong terms by that greatest of scriptures.

The *Brahma Vibaha* has the following peculiarities .

(1) The parents according to the advice of such of their well-wishers as are quite competent to give it, and after most careful considerations of many matters for the welfare of their sons and daughters, settle and perform it.

(2) Both the male and the female observe fasting or religious abstinence until their *Brahma Vibaha* is duly performed with the divine Vedic *Mantras*. As a rule the Hindus observe fasting for performing their religious rites.

(3) The girls who before puberty are given in *Brahma Vibaha* must after puberty go through the *Sanskara* called *Garvadhanam* (गर्भाधानम्) with their respective *Patris* because according to the holy *Shastras* and time-honoured social custom they (the *Pati and Patni*) cannot enjoy sexual pleasure without performing this most important *Garvadhanam* ceremony,

In fact, the husband and wife in a *Brahma Vibaha* are impressed with a sense that even the satisfaction of sexual desire is a religious matter connected with spirituality and that the begetting of a son or daughter is calculated to bring spiritual benefit to them. Owing to such purity and sanctity of the *Brahma Vibaha*, the high caste *Hindus* naturally feel an impetus for its observance.

The opponents of the *Brahma Vibaha* wrongly allege that it is the cause of high infantile and maternal mortality, phthisis, low vitality and so forth. As the high mortality of infants and their mothers among the poverty-stricken people of India is due to the want of proper food, drinks, clothes, medical treatment, hygienic knowledge and so forth and as the direct cause of phthisis according to modern medical science is some sort of bacilli, called *bacillus tuberculosis*, which entering into the lungs cause the disease and as the cause of low vitality is the want of substantial foods and drinks preserving vitality, excessive sexual intercourse, venereal disease and other diseases, detrimental to

vitality, the *Brahma Vibaha* cannot be the cause of those deaths and diseases and of low vitality. Had the *Brahma Vibaha* been the cause of those deaths and diseases and of low vitality, then it would surely have exterminated the Hindu community long before the eradication of the communities which subsequently came into existence. Moreover, in consequence of the sacred *Brahma Vibaha*, the Hindu community has been producing innumerable *Satees*, not to be found elsewhere, from the most ancient time.

Early motherhood is also wrongly ascribed to it. But the critics forget that motherhood comes earlier if puberty comes earlier and that by virtue of different climates and physical developments of girls puberty comes earlier or later in them. In India puberty comes earlier as a result principally of her peculiar climatic conditions. It may be argued that under such circumstances, early marriage through *Brahma Vibaha* cannot but lead to early motherhood. The answer is that although *Brahma Vibaha* is pre-puberty marriage, it never allows cohabitation before puberty and delays it till long after puberty. It extols the virtues of sexual continence and seeks to enforce it through numerous Shastric injunctions. It stresses the spiritual character of the married life and depends upon the sense of virtue, morality and spirituality and the power of self-control of the married couple to keep early motherhood at bay of which early puberty of the female is a predisposing cause.

In fact, the Sarda Act has not struck at the root of the disease. In order to cure the body politic of the evil of early motherhood it has made a wrong prescription. In wrongly compelling the patient to take the wrong medicine, the disease is likely to appear with a more untoward symptom, that is, the motherhood of unmarried girls, so often found in the societies of the Europeans and Americans who give their daughters in marriage after puberty. And certainly the motherhood of unmarried daughters is more undesirable than the early motherhood of married girls because the former brings blemish on those unmarried daughters and their respective families and is also the cause of social degradation but the latter may be only harmful to health.

Is *Brahma Vibaha*, again, a handicap on female education? Those who are familiar with the Sanskrit literature are aware of the high education received by the Hindu ladies who observed the *Brahma Vibaha* viz., Gargi, Bishwavara, Lopamudra, Maitreyee, Lilavati, Khana, Bhanumati and any others. In fact, the *Brahma Vibaha* is not a handicap on female education but rather it affords the Hindu girls more opportunity for receiving education with the help of their respective fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law and others. If the *Brahma Vibaha* is a handicap on the foreign system of female education, it does not follow that it is also a handicap on the system of female education as was introduced by the ancient Hindus into the pure Hindu community. And nobody would venture to say that the European system of female education does suit the Hindu girls. A reform of the system of education handed down from the ear-

liest times may be needed to meet the changed situation of the present day. But until such reforms are carried out and a really good system of female education introduced in the country, the Hindu girls should continue to receive their education at home as before—an education which is in perfect keeping with their high ideals of *Sateetwa* and their forefathers' *Sanatana Dharma* and *Samaj*.

The accusation that early marriage through the *Brahma Vibaha* is responsible for physical deterioration of the Hindus has no leg to stand upon. The warrior classess among the Hindus as also the Shikhs, the Pathans and other martial races of India who generally give their daughters in marriage before puberty, are certainly not weaker than the traducers of the *Brahma Vibaha*.

Suffice it to say that the opponents have imputed almost all sorts of serious social evils to the sacred *Brahma Vibaha* in pursuance of the policy of "Give a dog an ill name and you may as well hang him" for the purpose of putting an end to it.

But to all unprejudiced critics the *Brahma Vibaha* is bound to appear to be above reproach or animadversion. It is, as we have seen, a religious sacrament in the shape of gift and connected with spirituality for which there is no wrong in performing it before the puberty of girls. It is most essential and beneficial to the Hindus a pure race, though it may be unsuitable to the Westerners who are mixed races or *Varnashankaras*. It is an excellent safeguard against many serious social evils that are found in the societies of the latter. It is most helpful in creating *Satees* without whom the Hindus i. e. the pure race, cannot exist and the attainment of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Moksha* is not possible for them. The *Brahma Vibaha* is one of the chief constituents of the basis of the pure Hindu community that saw the rise and fall of many nations, the foundation and destruction of many empires, the appearance and disappearance of many races and thus possesses wonderful vitality. Surely such a miraculous vitality of the Hindu community is due to its strongest and best basis, made up of the Vedic customs and rites.

The Sarda Act is no more than one of the weapons to damage and destroy the *Sanatana Dharma* and *Samaj* and it wounds extremely the religious feelings of the Sanatana Hindus. It seeks to enforce such a *Vibaha* as is palpably an imitation of European marriage, based upon sexual lust and for which a bride of full age is necessary for its performance, at the sacrifice of the *Brahma Vibaha*, based upon religion and spirituality. Certainly the change of what is based upon religion and spirituality into what is based upon lust cannot be considered as a reform or a change for the better. In fact, the Sarda Act has seriously deformed the *Brahma Vibaha* in the name of reform.

It is, again, in direct opposition to the Royal Proclamations from 1859 onwards. So it is *ultra vires* of the Legislature. The sooner it is repealed the better.

Landlord's Transfer Fees

By TARAKGOBINDA CHAUDHURI,
Zemindar of Tantibund, Pabna.

AFTER the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act in 1885, the survey and settlement operations began in Bengal under the Act for the preparation of Record of Rights and the settlement of rents between landlords and tenants. The rights and interests of tenants in holdings or tenures can be known from the settlement *Khatian*. Owing to death, transfer or other causes, the names of landlords are constantly changing, so the existing landlords' names cannot now be found in the settlement *Khatian*. Their names can be got from the rent-receipts (*Dakhilas*) of the tenants.

The system of Landlord's Fees in case of transfer of tenures or holdings has been introduced by the amending Bengal Tenancy Act of 1928.

Sections 26B to 26J of the B. T. Act are to apply to all transfers of holdings or portions or shares of holdings of occupancy raiyats and the occupancy rights therein made after the first day of April, 1929.

Transfers are made by registered instruments or sales in execution of decrees (other than decrees for arrears of rent), for which Landlord's Fees are to be paid according to the nature of the tenancy.

In order to deprive the landlords of their legitimate fees, many transferors, or mortgagors or decree-holders in money suit wrongly describe the nature of the tenancy, for which litigation is gradually increasing.

Notices of transfer or sale in execution of decrees are served upon the landlords by the collector or the civil court by registered post, etc.

In majority of cases the names of landlords are taken from the settlement *Khatian* and in some cases that is not even done and so the names of all the landlords, now existing, are not given.

The difficulty, here, arises in this way that if a landlord transfers his share after the settlement operation, the purchaser's name does not appear in the settlement *Khatian* and the notice of transfer is generally served upon the *outgoing* landlord to the detriment of the purchaser.

In the case of a *sole* landlord, the Landlord's Fees as well are sent to him direct by postal money-order after service of notice by the collector, though he has no interest in the money. Thus the *incoming* new purchaser suffers being deprived of his legitimate fees.

Sometimes notice of transfer is sent to persons which is returned by the postal peon as *undelivered* as the names of the deceased landlord are not given in the notice of Landlord's Fees.

case. On account of these and many other difficulties to withdraw Landlord's Fee (especially when there are co-sharers), many Landlord's Fee monies become lapsed.

The collector attaches the Landlord's Fees for arrears of cesses and takes the amount for adjustment in the landlord's account in the Touji without sending any notice of transfer or of adjustment to him. The landlord or the heirs of the deceased landlord cannot correct the Tenants' Ledger (*Karcha Hisab*) as well as the Landlords' Ledgers (Revenues and Cesses payable to superior landlords), for which the zemindar makes, sometimes, a double payment. In recent suits, the landlords cannot make the purchasers parties, for which the landlords have to suffer a great loss.

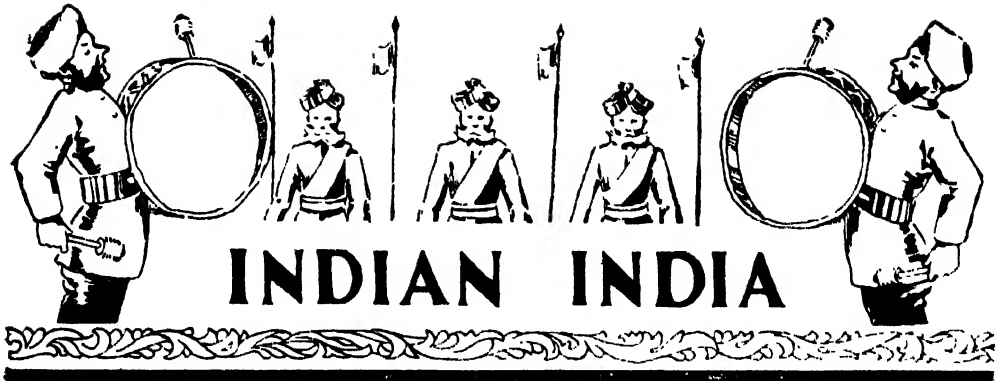
In order to get rid of these difficulties and to give the landlords, especially the new purchasers, facility to get their legitimate dues, the following means may be adopted, *viz.* (a) to introduce a special money-order form for transmitting Landlord's Fees, in which the landlord will have to declare that he is still the owner of the property; (b) to verify the names of proprietors mentioned in the Landlord's Fee notices with those of the "D" Register and see whether the names of the proprietors have been correctly mentioned; (c) to prepare at the end of every year a list of Landlord's Fee cases, the transfer fees of which are going to be lapsed, mentioning therein the Tauzi number and the names of proprietors and hang the same in the Notice Board of the Collectorate, so that the landlords may take proper steps to withdraw the amount; (d) to send a notice to the landlord whose dues are adjusted with the arrears of cesses; (e) to examine the settlement *Khatian* and *Dakhilas* to tenants in the Registrar's Office at the time of registration of the instrument of transfer and so also in civil court when applications for execution of money and mortgage decrees by attaching immovable properties are registered in the execution case register.

The last means suggested may avoid many litigations, and unless some such means be adopted there is no way out of these difficulties.

If the above suggestions are considered feasible, an Amending Bill may be drawn up either by members of the Government or by private members of the Legislative Council, and passed as early as possible.

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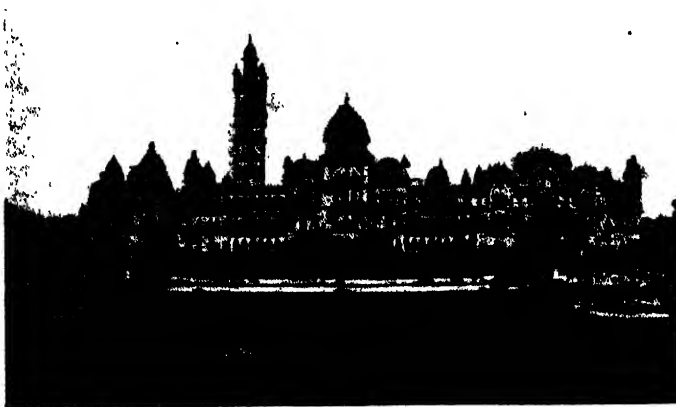
BARODA

While Baroda is celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of its Great Ruler we are glad to give here a short description of the State which His Highness the Gaekwar has made so great and institutions he has built up therein :

TERRITORIES AND REVENUE

Geographically situated in Gujerat and Kathiawad in Western India, the State is divided into five scattered territorial blocks, separated from each other by the territories of the British Government and those of Indian States. It covers an area of 8164 square miles and has a population of 2,443,007 according to the last census returns.

The revenue of the State ranges from Rs. 2,50 lakhs to Rs. 2,90 lakhs.



The Laxmivilas Palace, Baroda.

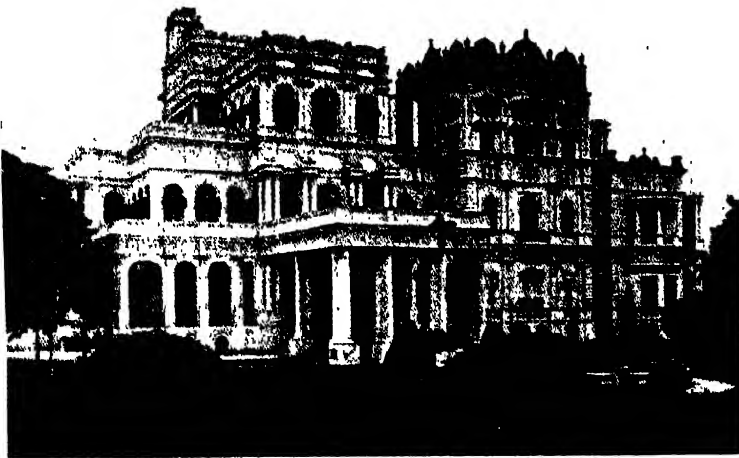
STRUCTURE OF STATE

The administration of Baroda is carried on by His Highness assisted by his Executive Council. The Council consists of five members, including the Dewan or

Prime Minister, two or more Naib Dewans or Deputy Ministers and one or two other officials. The Government is further assisted for purposes of legislation by the advice of a Legislative Council. The Dhara Sabha (as the Legislative Council is known) contains a non-official majority, the total number of members being 30, of whom the officials number 14. The official members include the members of the Executive Council together with other Government officers. The functions of the Legislature are advisory, but members can put interpellations and move resolutions.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The governing machinery is strengthened by a net-work of local self-governing institutions. The urban areas are under the control of municipal councils of which there are eleven, and of "Vishisht Panchayats" or minor urban councils with a less elaborate organisation than the municipal councils. There are 33 Vishisht Panchayats. Members of these councils are partly elected and partly nominated, the former preponderating. In rural areas there are village Panchayats which number 2,118, and over them are five Prant Panchayats or district Boards. On all these bodies, the elected members are in the majority. His Highness takes a keen personal interest in the welfare of these bodies. He has presented the premier institution, the Municipality of the city of Baroda, with a reservoir for supplying drinking water, which cost half a crore of rupees. The lesser towns and the larger villages have most of them been supplied with sources of pure drinking water by means of water works to which His Highness has liberally contributed. By His Highness' bounty and by the activities of these bodies under His Highness' guidance, His Highness' subjects have been supplied with amenities of life to a degree uncommon in any part of India.



The Nazarbagh Palace, Baroda.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The judicial system of the State is well constituted. It consists of a Varisht (high) Court with four judges on the bench. This is the highest tribunal in the land, but provision exists for the hearing of appeals from it before the Huzur Nyaya Sabha or Privy Council, subject to certain conditions. The judicial and executive functions have been separated. Under the High Court there are five district judges' courts, together with four courts of assistant judges, 24 of subordinate judge- and magistrates, five of district magistrates and 89 of revenue officers who are ex-officio magistrates. In the villages themselves, there are Panchayat courts exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty matters. Thus the legal system is calculated to bring justice

within the reach of the humblest in the land. For the disposal of appeals and revision applications against executive decisions of the heads of departments, there is a tribunal named Khatanihaya Sadar Adalat.

ARMY

The State maintains an army consisting of 3,182 regular infantry, 1,500 regular cavalry and 7 guns.

POLICE

The State maintains an efficient police consisting of 5,140 officers and men ; of these 227 are mounted officers and men.

THE REVENUE SURVEY

In other departments of State, there has been such a quickening of the administrative pulse as has resulted in radical reforms all round. For instance, soon after he took over the reins of power, His Highness set on foot a scientific land revenue survey. The new settlement established security of tenure and definition of rights, where formerly there had been confusion. It did away with payment in kind, it



The Makarpura Palace, Baroda.

lowered the prevailing rates of land revenue and it placed taxes on an equitable basis according to the nature of the soil. Further, it overhauled the system of revenue collection and laid down a definite body of rules. The tenant was thus in a much better position than he had been, for he could till the land in the knowledge that his dues were fixed and his rights would be respected.

AID FOR AGRICULTURE

The establishment of a department for agriculture was one of the earliest reforms undertaken by His Highness. It has been followed by a series of measures which have helped the agriculturist to maintain himself on a sound economic basis. The establishment of model demonstration and experimental farms have shown the people how to improve their methods and thus get greater return from their labours. Village uplift is inculcated through these and other agencies, so that cultivators are taught the best methods of tillage, the value of manures, the rotation of crops, scientific irrigation, and other practical aspects of their occupation. Special inspectors tour the villages demonstrating and lecturing to cultivators, and advising them

on problems of husbandry, such as improved ploughing, better seeds, greater return per acre and destruction of pests.

RESEARCH WORKS

The State being a constituent member of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in India, is in a position to keep in touch with the latest scientific developments in agriculture. Cotton is largely grown in the State and special attention is paid to improving its cultivation, with the result that to-day inferior varieties of cotton have been almost completely eliminated, while war is being waged on the pests which attack the cotton plant. A State representative has a permanent seat on the Indian Central Cotton Committee and under its auspices research on "root-rot" in the cotton plant in Gujerat is being conducted by the State department of Agriculture at the Baroda experimental station.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

Another branch of the rural reconstruction movement which has received every encouragement at the hands of the State is the co-operative movement, now widely spread through the State. There are 1147 co-operative societies with a membership of 43,488 and a working capital of Rs. 74,00,000, in addition to non-credit societies and the like. In the early days of His Highness' reign, the numerous miscellaneous *Teros* or imposts in the nature of professional taxes, which were levied upon people residing in villages and following several occupations and trades, were abolished and a uniform system of income tax was introduced. Transit duties also went by the board. Now, the State has opened a rural reconstruction centre at Kosamba for the purpose of uplift propaganda and tuition.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

On the industrial side, the progress made has been nothing short of phenomenal. His Highness' warm support of commercial and industrial enterprises, with the forward policy adopted for the encouragement of all practical projects, have resulted in a large expansion of the industrial activity of the State. Baroda today supports a large number of flourishing industries, and is engaged in fostering a number of infant industries which some day will be equally flourishing. Among the more important enterprises thriving today are several cotton mills, dyeing and bleaching works, chemical works, tile factories, potteries, cement works, oil mills, and rope factories. In addition, there are a number of subsidiary industries on a smaller scale, but they are all growing. Financially it has been the policy of the Bank of Baroda (a sound private institution largely supported by the State, with a clientele extending far beyond the boundaries of the State) to extend assistance to these industries, consistent with the circumstances. Further assistance to industry has been forthcoming from the State itself which has undertaken scientific problems, and has enlisted the services of experts at its own cost to advise manufacture. The department of industries has introduced improved processes in weaving, calico printing, tanning, lacquer work and other industries, and has conducted wide surveys of the economic resources of the State with a view to encourage industrialists to invest their money in the development of those natural products which have hitherto lacked exploitation. Forestry and fisheries have also come in for their share of attention and are both being administered on the most scientific lines. Baroda is rich in timber, and her wealth is being conserved by afforestation, while at the same time it is being put to good use by exploitation in rotation.

RAILWAYS.

Allied to the subject of industrial development is that of the growth of the railways, and here again Baroda has been in the vanguard of progress. Ever since 1856, when the first sod of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway was turned and His Highness' predecessor Khanderao made a free gift of the lands needed for railway purposes, the policy of the State has been to encourage the existence of

railway enterprise. In addition to about 200 miles of railway built by the B. B. & C. I. and other companies, the State now owns 21.42 miles of broad gauge railways, 329.55 miles of metre gauge and 355.73 miles of narrow gauge railways, the construction of which has cost over five crores of rupees. In this matter, His Highness takes the view of the true economist, namely, that even if a railway is not directly remunerative, having regard to the volume of traffic it carries, yet its existence is justified if it opens up a new hinterland and enables its inhabitants to avail themselves of transport facilities for the marketing of their produce. The soundness of this attitude has been borne out by the extent to which railways have resulted in the development of the interior and have contributed to the well-being of rural districts.

MEDICAL RELIEF

His Highness has provided a net-work of hospital and dispensaries throughout the State. The number of these in 1933-34 was 92. These are staffed by 22 men-doctors, 4 women-doctors and 104 subordinate medical officers including 5 women, and 1 dentist. The number of trained nurses and midwives was 105. The total expenditure on medical relief in the State was about 7 lakhs of rupees. There is in addition a sanitary department to advise on sanitary matters.

PORT DEVELOPMENT

Together with the railways, the Maharaja has been responsible for a bold policy of port development, and the State now possesses a modern outlet for its trade in the port of Okha, on which over thirty-four lakhs of rupees have been spent. Okhamandal in which port Okha is situated has, from time immemorial, been a centre of Hindu pilgrimage. The railway to Okha passes through the territory of the Nawanagar State, the Baroda Government having made a loan to a company on the guarantee of that State for the building of the railway and the port serves a large hinterland in Gujerat and Rajputana.

PUBLIC WORKS

As in other directions, so in public works proper, the Maharaja has been progressive. The Public Works department has an annual allocation of some twenty five lakhs of rupees, and even the most remote country districts are served by good roads. The cities have all the architectural amenities of today, the palaces and parks are well cared for, and the State is rich in noble edifices worthy of itself. In particular, its schools are well housed and numerous.

EDUCATION

Primary education has been free and compulsory in the State since 1906, having been tentatively introduced in one taluka thirteen years before that and later generally applied. The total number of primary schools in the State is 2,238 and the number of pupils, boys and girls, attending them is 2,47,002. This figure represents seventy per cent of the population of school-going age, and is much above the percentage in any other part of India. The State has 102 secondary schools of all grades and a first grade college, a fully developed technical institute with five subordinate industrial schools and a well-equipped science institute. There are two training colleges for teachers, one for men teachers and the other for women teachers. The education of depressed classes has received special attention.

A useful adjunct to the compulsory scheme is a network of district, village and travelling libraries on which an expenditure of Rs. 1,06,000 a year is incurred. There are in the State one central library, 45 town libraries, 14 women's and childrens' libraries, 968 village libraries, 127 reading rooms and 276 travelling libraries. The Oriental Institute which edits the Gaekwad Oriental Series is famous the world over.

The total expenditure on education per annum excluding that on buildings, is Rs. 35,00,000. This large sum is all spent with discrimination and forethought, and it has resulted in the literacy statistics for Baroda showing a vast improvement in the past two decades. Education is popular in the State and is eagerly availed of by the

people. Whatever objection there was at first to free and compulsory primary education (and it has to be remembered that His Highness was the first in India to embark on this bold step) has long since vanished and parents are now enthusiastic supporters of the principle for their children. Thus His Highness' view, that the measure was absolutely necessary "for the realisation of my ambitions and wishes for the future of my people" has been amply borne out by experience. His example has been followed by others, but Baroda was the first to reap the benefits of this enlightened policy.

BARODA COLLEGE AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Of educational institutions in the State, the foremost is the Baroda College. Founded in 1882, it is recognised by the University of Bombay for all courses in Arts and Science.

Apart from the College, splendid work is being performed by many other institutions too numerous here to dilate upon. Suffice it to say that the library movement has been organised to such an extent that its influence permeates through the villages; that the education of girls and of the depressed classes has made enormous strides, that the Public Museum and the Picture Gallery in Baroda are both institutions whose scope and standard have earned for them recognition in foreign countries; and that the Kalabhavan (approximating to a Polytechnic school) has inculcated the theory and practice of such subjects as civil and mechanical engineering, chemical technology, textile manufacture and commercial training to a large number of Baroda subjects.

SOCIAL REFORM

In another respect also, Maharaja Sayajirao has earned an enduring niche in the hall of fame. Social legislation has always been His Highness' personal concern. From his early days, he has waged war upon such pernicious practices as child marriage, caste disabilities, the prohibition of widow re-marriage, purdah and untouchability. In 1901 was passed the Freedom of Religion Act which removed disabilities in regard to inheritance attaching by law or customs, to change of religion. In 1904, the Infant Marriage Prevention Act was passed. This Act prohibits the marriage of girls below the age of 14 and of boys below the age of 18. When the Act was first passed, the penalty attached to infringements of this provision was a fine not exceeding one hundred rupees. As it was found that this was not a sufficient deterrent, the penalty was increased by an amendment made in 1929. The amendment makes a person who is found guilty of performing the marriage of a girl or a boy under eight years of age, liable to be punished with simple imprisonment not exceeding one month or with a fine not exceeding two hundred rupees; and a person, who is found guilty of performing the marriage of a girl who is more than eight years of age but not more than fourteen years, or of a boy who is more than eight years of age but not more than eighteen, liable to a fine not exceeding two hundred rupees. It has also been enacted that a marriage in the State between a boy and a girl either of whom may be less than eight years of age shall be void. Under the State Penal Code, age of consent for girls is fourteen within marriage and eighteen outside marriage. As it stands today the Infant Marriage Prevention Act is far from being a dead letter, and is rigorously enforced.

RECENT ENACTMENTS

By a recent amendment of the Hindu Marriage Act of the State, it has been laid down that the priest officiating at a marriage must translate and explain to the bride and the bridegroom the *Mantras* (hymns) recited at the ceremony in their own vernacular. Authoritative translations of the marriage ritual in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi have been published by the State. The Hindu Divorce Act is another important piece of social legislation, and contains provisions for dissolution or nullity of marriage, judicial separation, separate residence, maintenance of offspring, etc. A further radical breach with tradition is the proposed Caste Tyranny Act, which is designed to give relief to persons from certain tyrannous customs prevailing in certain castes, such as the restriction of marriages to "gols" (circles) within castes.

WAR SERVICES

His Highness' war services are well-known. Assistance in the shape of men, money and materials was readily forthcoming from Baroda for the Empire in its hour of trial, and the strength of the State's loyalty to the Crown, as in the dark days of Sepoy Mutiny, was amply demonstrated.

The total of money gifts by His Highness for War purposes was Rs. 33,96,050. This sum included moneys for the provision and equipment of aeroplanes, for the War Gift Fund, for Ford Motor vans, Red Cross subscriptions, contributions to the Prince of Wales fund and contributions for miscellaneous purposes. Further both His Highness and his people subscribed very largely to the various War Loans, the total of such subscriptions being more than a crore of rupees.

Lastly, for hospital the Baroda State gave freely of materials, such as horses, tents, loans of a palace and of a steam tug, while it supplied on payment such needed articles as horses, a large amount of railway rolling stock and surveying instruments. Thus it will be seen that the contribution of Baroda to the ultimate triumph of the Allied Arms was generous in the extreme.

HYDERABAD

In a meeting of the Hyderabad Economic Association Mr. Syed Arifuddin, Superintending Engineer, Public Works Department Hyderabad, advocated for his State the formation of a Central Development Board consisting of officials and non-officials, such as those functioning in Mysore and Travancore, for speedy and effective development of its agricultural and industrial resources. He advocated the creation of a new Department called the "Agricultural and Industrial Department" to function under the Board. The new Department is to set itself to the task of pooling and co-ordinating the resources of the State and the public for the purpose. Village uplift will be a part of its activities. The work of the Department will be subdivided as follows :

(1) Investigation Section for maintaining the necessary literature and for collecting and collating the data and information requisite for the promotion of industries ; (2) research section having a laboratory, a small workshop and an agricultural farm of its own ; (3) a section for the promotion of new companies, and helping the existing ones by advice, finance and supervision ; and (4) a controlling and marketing section whose duty shall be the removal of unhealthy competition, controlling the output and the provision of marketing facilities.

MYSORE

The Committee which was appointed sometime ago at the instance of Mysore Agricultural Board to go into the question of consolidation of agricultural holdings in the State has presented its report to the Government with its recommendations. The report states that fragmentation is so common in the State and has proceeded to such an alarming extent that nothing short of complete revolution of the law of inheritance can remedy the situation. Such a step will certainly not be prudent and hence inadmissible ; but provisions should nevertheless be made to facilitate, as much as possible, the consolidation of holdings and discourage and arrest

the process of fragmentation by passing a law on the lines of the Central Provinces Consolidation of Holdings Act. The report very rightly opines that ultimately the solution lies with the landholders of the area to which the new consolidation law is sought to be applied. The Government, it is said, have concurred in this view and have invited by a notification in the official gazette public opinion in the matter before taking final decision thereon.

TRAVANCORE

The Government of Travancore are reported to have taken action in regard to export of goods to Italy and import of Italian goods on the same lines as those followed by the Government of India.

COCHIN

According to the Delhi correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, an agreement relating to the Cochin Harbour is now being drawn up. It will be referred, as soon as it is ready, to various parties and after signature the Government of India would undertake legislation creating the Cochin Port Trust. If an agreement is expedited legislation might be introduced at the next session of the Assembly, otherwise in the Simla session. However, the creation of the Port Trust, even if delayed, will not interfere with the programme of pushing forward the fourth stage, wherefor the necessary loans will be advanced after the agreement is signed.

MAYURBHANJ

The daily press reports the discovery of a relic in the form of a flat shouldered copper axehead belonging, according to experts, to the copper age at a site called Biratgarh of Kiching in Mayurbhanj State. Some copper Kushan coins and "Puri Kushan" coins along with stone beads of various size and colour have also been found at Biratgarh which, once a jungle-covered ruin, is now being excavated. A large number of copper double axeheads were discovered in the eastern part of Mayurbhanj, but the present specimen differs in shape from these axeheads. It is said that the Oriya inscription of Gajapati king, Purushottama Deva of Orissa 1492 A. D. written on a piece of axehead referred to by Sir. Edward Gait and now in the possession of the Bhuyan family of village Garpada in Balasore on the eastern border of the state, is exactly similar in form to this piece found in western Mayurbhanj.



Matters of Moment

ITALY ON THE DEFENSIVE

The Italian adventure in Africa is entering on a new phase. News of Italy's rapid advance, and the successful Fascist encounters with Abyssinia's half-armed tribesmen with which the Press had been flooded for some-time past, have suddenly ceased, and instead we are hearing of tactical Italian retreats in the face of advancing enemy. The tables have been turned and the Italians, who hoped to penetrate to Adis Ababa and smash up the Abyssinian resistance in a short winter campaign, are paying the penalty of a too hasty advance. The Abyssinians with their arms and their confidence increasing with every day that passes, are now definitely on the offensive and are, day by day, regaling the world with the story of their successful counter-attacks.

Simultaneously with the worsening of her position in Africa, Italy is experiencing a tightening of the position of the League. It seemed for a time that the Italian threat of war in case of the imposition of the oil embargo, would stop France and through her the League. But the Hoare-Laval peace proposals never had a chance and were withdrawn before they were considered by the League. The anger of the British public and fifty odd nations of the League, drove Sir Samuel Hoare from office and though M. Laval has secured a bare vote of confidence from the Chamber of Deputies, he has been kept in power, says the report, not because of his foreign policy but because of his financial proposals. The peace proposals which gave to Italy more than what she was offered before she plunged into war, and gave her more than was at all justified by the military situation, deserved no better fate. They were intended to destroy the League, by showing that after all war is a paying game.

With the resignation of Sir Samuel Hoare, and the rise of Mr. Anthony Eden to the Foreign Secretaryship, has come a perceptible stiffening of the League position. The oil embargo is once more certain, and only the date of its imposition remains to be fixed. France has assured England of her armed support in case of unprovoked Italian attack on the British fleet in the Mediterranean. If this present unity between Europe's greatest land power and her greatest sea-power continues, then Mussolini's adventure is foredoomed to failure. He might attack England or France, but that will only complete his ruin. Unless the Italian army in Abyssinia can make better show, and deliver some lightning strokes under which the Abyssinian resistance will crumple up, Italy's present adventure is

going to end no better than her old one of 1896. She is running a race against Time, Rains and the Sanctions, and the indications are not very favourable for her winning it.

JAPAN SPEEDING UP HER NAVAL PROGRAMME

Naval circles in Japan are apprehending that the possibility of any agreement being reached as the result of the present Naval Conference, is very slight and the nation therefore should be ready to enter into a naval race with the great naval powers. As we pointed out in the previous issue, the Naval Conference is likely to break down over the Japanese claim to parity with England and America. Neither England nor U. S. A. is willing to concede that parity as it will give the Japanese fleet a definite superiority in the Far East *vis-a-vis* the navy of England or America, while Japan knowing that she will have to fight both the Anglo-Saxon Powers together, and not one individually, seems to be bent on parity.

That if the Conference breaks down, as there is every chance of it, there will be a naval race between the three great naval powers, there is no doubt. America has already declared her intention that treaty or no-treaty, the American navy will always be maintained at a ratio of 5 : 3 with the Japanese. The Japanese Naval Staff is determined that this should never be the case, and in the opinion of naval experts, if and when the Naval Conference breaks down. Japan will be more than ready for the ensuing race in armaments as her military men have taken care to build up her navy more up to the treaty limits, than that of any other of the five signatory powers of 1927.

Anticipating the present developments, Japan started her second replenishment programme in 1932, which by the end of 1937 will bring her navy upto the full limits of the tonnage allowed her by the treaties, and will give her a navy composed, except in capital ships, entirely of under-age modern ships, the last word in naval design. Within the past two years the schedules of the Japanese naval programme have been greatly accelerated, and cruisers that formerly required three or four years to complete, are being rushed through in two years. If the race really begin in grim earnest, Japan is determined to start with a considerable advantage over the Western Powers.

BIGGER MARKETS FOR TEA WANTED

The tea industry, in spite of the Restriction Scheme, is doing none too well, and recently a delegation consisting of Mr. H. A. Autrobus, chairman of the Indian Tea Association, Mr. J. Jones, chairman of the Tea Licensing Committee, and Mr. J. A. Milligan, chairman of the Tea Cess Committee, made a tour of Northern Bengal, in order to discuss informally with Indian and European tea growers problems relating to the industry.

It came out during the discussions that the most important need of the industry today is bigger market both within and without India. The overseas markets for Indian tea have shrunk perceptibly: while in

1929, India exported 380 million pounds of tea, in 1935 she is exporting only 310 million pounds. The recovery of this export trade is of vital importance, and no less vital is the necessity of finding a market in India itself for the potential surplus of some 120 million pounds which the Indian estates will be able to produce in 1938. Restriction of crop and of exports is no solution. It is merely a palliative. Increase of consumption both at home and abroad is the only true remedy. The Indian Tea Cess Committee is of course alive to the need of it, and is making great efforts towards it, but though not entirely unsuccessful, its efforts have not yet borne much fruit.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The recently issued annual report for 1934-35 of the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association reflects the greatest credit on those entrusted with the fulfilment of its aims and objects. The report records a year of much useful work in welfare, relief and allied measures. One of its most valuable achievements was in the realm of old age pensions. The Association was impressed by the need for the provision for Indians in their old age, and, in co-operation with the Indian Congress in South Africa, made representations to the Minister concerned, as a direct result of which he promised to set aside a sum of money for each of the four Provinces for the relief of indigent Indians.

We are also glad to find from the report that the Association received most valuable help and cooperation from other Indian associations. The report in particular acknowledges the help it received from the Moslem Association. The Association also received extremely valuable help from Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh and Lady Maharaj Singh, and above all, from Mrs. Hoernle, who as President of the Indu-European Women's Association, first urged the formation of such an organisation for dealing with distress among Indians.

* * * *

At a recent meeting of the Kenya Legislative Council, the Hon'ble A. B. Patel asked whether in view of the fact that provision had been made for Overseas Scholarships for European students, Government would make similar provision for Indian students proceeding overseas for higher studies. The Colonial secretary said in reply that no provision has been made for 1936, but if Mr. Patel wanted any such provision to be made he should raise the question when the Estimates for the Education Department are under Examination by the Standing Finance Committee.

* * * *

Referring to Indian education in his speech on the occasion of the opening of a recent session of the local Legislative Council, His Excellency the Governor of Kenya said that the rapid increase in the number of Indian children had rendered the situation one of great difficulty, but provision for some increase in grants had been made in the Budget. It

has been proposed to start a Teacher Training class for Indian students in January, and the necessary provision has been made in the Estimates.

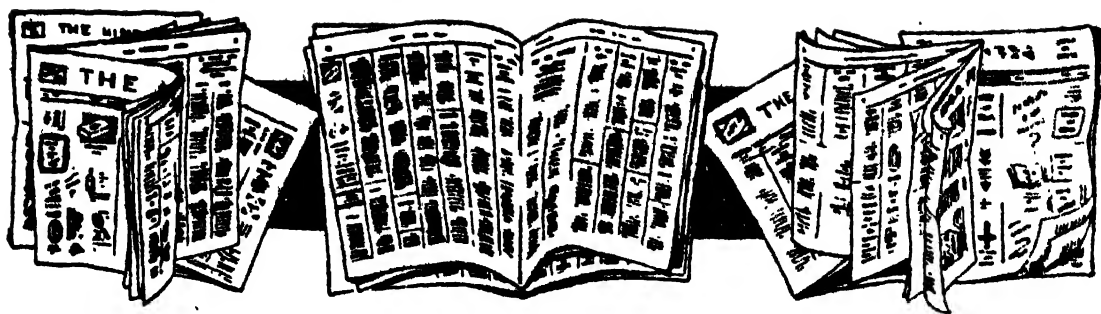
CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

Speaking at the second annual general meeting of the Indian National Airways Limited in mid-December, Mr. Grant Govan referred in his presidential address to the grave financial situation of the Company, and pleaded for Government help. He pointed out how in June and August last, the Company had to close its Calcutta-Dacca-Chittagong and Calcutta-Rangoon services. The passenger traffic is yet very small, and the mail loads, he said, are simply infinitesimal.

In the absence of any adequate passenger traffic and of mail loads, any future development work of the Company will depend fundamentally on the Government's attitude towards civil aviation. The Government have hitherto refused to consider the claim of civil aviation to State help, though, in our opinion, there seems to be every reason to grant it. Not that there is no chance for civil aviation in India ; the Tata enterprise in Southern and Western India has already become a financially paying proposition. There is no doubt that, given some help in its initial stages, the Airways will also soon become a paying proposition.

It is unfortunately true, as Mr. Govan has deplored, that there is an unaccountable apathy for the institution in the public mind. Yet if we look to the national character of the Company, and the ability and enterprise its management have displayed, nothing can be less justified. The Company is a rupee Company registered in India. Of the total paid up capital of Rs. 11,60,355 no less than 87 per cent., or Rs. 10,10,112, is held by Indians. There are altogether 970 shareholders of whom 885, or 91 per cent, are Indians. Shareholders are widely spread throughout the country and only 72 shareholders hold more than 500 shares each, and of these 63 or 87½ per cent, are Indians. The policy of the Company and its development work is guided by a Board of Directors, the majority of whom are prominent Indian businessmen, and the European members of the Board are all very closely identified with the interest of this country. As to the staff, the company has been steadily increasing the Indian element of the personnel in responsible posts in all the departments ; and of the 91 persons who now constitute the staff, 71 are Indians, and only 20 are Europeans and Anglo-Indians. In addition the Company has got six selected Indian trainers on its engineering and traffic branches.

Development in civil aviation is taking place with Government assistance, either direct or indirect, in every country in the world in which aerial service exists, and we hope the Government of India will also appreciate the necessity of closely following in its wake, and thus confer upon the people of India the benefits of the fastest and the most modern means of transport.



Gleanings

CIVILIZATION AND SOIL EROSION

Urging a coordinated land-planning programme for the conservation of the forest, agricultural and range lands and water resources of his country Mr. W. C. Lowdermilk of Soil Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture, says in the *Journal of Forestry* (June 1935).

Presentday archæologists in their postmortems on excavations of ruins of ancient civilisation have revealed some very illuminating information. They now tell us that some former civilisations, once revelling in a Golden Age of prosperity and surrounded by magnificence and opulence are crumbled in ruin half buried in the dust and debris of their own destructive exploitation of the lands they once cultivated. Aerial photographs of ruins in Asia Minor, Palestine, North Africa and Peru are strikingly similar. All such ruins are in the regions of scarce vegetation bare hillsides and rock lowlands. History tells of vast armies surging back and forth across these regions. They must have been entirely dependent for food upon the surrounding country. Yet, now those barren, dry lands scarcely sustain the scattered native populations.

The great despoiler of civilisations and landscapes is soil erosion, by wind and water. It is a disease which has followed mankind throughout the centuries in his exploitation and destructive treatment of the good earth from which he received his sustenance—a disease difficult to discern at first and responsive to treatment in the early stages but absolutely fatal to civilization in its final stages.

As the civilizations increased in population the crop demands upon the surrounding land become greater. In the arid regions enlarged herds overgrazed their hill lands, destroying the vegetative cover and grinding with their hoofs the ground to powder. The exposed soils in dry seasons were swept aloft and blown by the wind and in rainy seasons were washed down the slopes by torrential flows to ruin the fertility of the lowlands. Cooke believes that the Maya civilization had to migrate because it was choked to death by mud washed from its own hillside corn patches. Palestine and north China cut off their forests as the increased demand for food required the cultivation of the slopes. According to the steepness of the slopes, the rich humus soil which had been centuries in the making washed off in three to twenty years, leaving the land sterile, rocky and bare, unprotected and each rain dumped debris on the fertile lowlands or choked the irrigation canals and rivers with silt.....

Calling attention to the significant change in rate of erosional processes occasioned by the clearing and burning of forests and other vegetation, the breaking of the soil with ploughs and the heavy consumption of the forage herbage by rapidly multiplying herds in U. S. A., the writer says:

Soils which had been thoroughly protected through thousands of years by unbroken mantles of vegetation, and for this reason, had weathered to fine, textures with high organic contents so favourable to "mellowness" and good fertility, were

suddenly exposed to the dash of torrential rains characterising the climate of extensive regions. There began under these conditions a rate of soil erosion greatly in excess of the rates hitherto obtained. The significant fact of this period of indifferent land use, still continuing over an expanding area, is that of the rates of soil formation over vast areas—a sure process of land destruction. Top soils have been literally washed away, leaving raw, comparatively unproductive unabsorptive intractile subsoil exposed at the surface. Moreover concentration of runoff has removed the topsoil and cut enormous gullies deep into the underlying subsoil material, from which true production subsoil is formed only through ages of natural processing. These gullies are cutting headward and laterally into valuable farms and forests, discharging with maximum speed the concentrated rain-fall descending from the upper watersheds into drainage ways and upon valley lands. So malignant and ruthless has been the work of accelerated erosions that the productivity of millions of acres of rich, virgin farm land in densely populated regions of the United States has been destroyed within less than a century.

DEVELOPING THE FRUIT INDUSTRY

In India fruit cultivation on a commercial basis has made little headway and fruit research has only had a beginning. On the other hand countries like France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, U. S. A. and Greece have made rapid and big strides in fruit production and valuable contributions to research in fruit growing. A study of the development of the fruit industry in various countries, says Dr. G. S. Cheema, D.Sc. I.A.S. in the pages of *Agriculture and Livestock in India*, shows that research relating to fruit growing relates to the following aspects of the industry :

1. The breeding of suitable varieties to meet the commercial needs of the world.
2. The selection of proper root stocks and the adoption of convenient methods of propagation to facilitate their distribution on a large scale.
3. Nutrition of fruit trees, pruning and cultural operations to get higher yield per unit area.
4. The improvement of transport and storage to reduce damage during movement and the sale period of fruit.
5. Methods of preservation by which surplus produce can be economically converted into more valuable products.
6. Pests and diseases which attack fruit trees and reduce their yield and economic value.

Where fruit-growing is an organised industry, every aspect of fruit cultivation is studied scientifically.

In addition to the investigation of the above aspects of fruit growing, trade control and legislation have played a prominent part in recent advances in fruit-growing.

The benefits of the application of the result of research are properly safeguarded by appropriate legislative and administrative measures, with a view to protecting the industry against factors unfavourable to its growth. Such control tends

1. to safeguard the industrial and economic interest of the people from foreign competition,
2. to check the introduction of harmful pests and diseases along with new varieties of fruits or in other ways and
3. to maintain economic balance between the growers' expenses and risks and profits.

Legal restrictions are now a regular feature of the trade control of fruit growing in most countries. The cultivation is neat. The handling of fruit is sanitary and the marketing is properly organised.

Beside Trade control

Agricultural co-operation is acting as a powerful instrument in promoting the growth of the industry in many parts of the world. Co-operative fruit farming, co-operative manufacture of wines and preserves and the preparation of fruit for marketing through co-operation are the growing tendencies of the modern age.

Agricultural co-operative facilities facilitate credit, secure specialised staff and obtain favourable terms for the disposal of the produce.

CLEAN MILK PRODUCTION

The Journal of the Ministry of Agriculture says that the Ministry of Agriculture (England) has made efforts for some thirteen years to stimulate the production of clean milk through the organisation of clean milk competitions in the counties. First introduced in Essex in 1920 the clean milk competition scheme has been generally taken up by local authorities throughout the country, and in all important dairy districts such competitions have formed a regular feature of the country educational schemes. In 1933-34 twenty-six clean milk competitions were started in England and Wales.

During the past thirteen years approximately 6000 dairy farmers have taken part in these competitions. Although this figure represents only about 1 in 30 of the dairy farmers of the country it must be remembered that the beneficial effect of these competitions extends far beyond the competitors.

For dairy farmers who have passed through the clean milk competitions and who require some organised means to enable them to maintain their standard of production, county registers of accredited producers were instituted. The scheme was first introduced in Wiltshire in 1929 and in 1933-34 it was in operation in 11 counties. Briefly the scheme provided for the registration of producers who had obtained 66½ per cent marks available in a county clean milk competition of 6 months' duration. Samples of milk from all accredited producers on the register were examined each month and each sample was expected to conform with the following standard :

Bacterial count not exceeding 300,000 per c. c.

Bacillus Coli absent in one-hundredth c. c.

A producer who failed to conform with the standard in 3 consecutive months was suspended from the registry until such time as he submitted 3 consecutive satisfactory results.

Certain distributive firms made use of the clean milk competitions or the register of accredited producers in connection with the payment of a bonus for milk of high standard.

The scheme may be regarded as something of a first attempt on the lines of the Milk Marketing Board's scheme for a Roll of Accredited Producers by which it has been superseded.

OVERPOPULATION IN INDIA

Writing editorially on the above subject *Current Science* says :

Recent authors on the population problem in India have drawn attention primarily to the question of food production. The argument is that the population of India is already living permanently on the verge of scarcity, and any addition is bound to result in an insufficiency of the food supply. The advocates of birth-control emphasize that women who bear numerous children are subjected to miseries, that they lose their reserve vitality, and that the children are undernourished and are indifferently educated. We are not dealing here with the question of maximum

population desirable, and in this connection it is essential to have an accurate estimate of the degree to which the recent rise in number has taxed the ability of the country to support its occupant at a reasonable standard of living. The position of the economists in the European countries now appears to be that even if the low birth rate is reversed to former proportions, the rapid development that is taking place in the world production of food would be adequate to meet any such increase. It is doubtful whether, within the next decade, the production of food in India, in spite of rapid researches in the mechanical and biological fields of agricultural occupations, will be sufficient to cope with the increasing numbers. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose that the general adoption of improved and intensive methods of cultivation might result in an increased output of at least 30 per cent throughout India. If in the total cultivable area the process of raising crops was brought under scientific control and if by any chance the present population of India was not allowed to increase, there can be little doubt that the standard of living of the masses would rise rapidly. But the apprehension is that population shows a tendency to multiply, unless the law which governs increase is artificially suspended. Is this apprehension based on scientific theory?

Those who have investigated the population problem point out that this inevitable increase need not necessarily bring misery in its train since "the orderly evolution of human knowledge justifies us in assuming that science will keep pace in discovering means of expanding opportunities of happy human existence" and the human organism is endowed with the power of adapting itself to an extent not yet imagined. Even if the existence of any community is threatened by an uncontrollable multiplication of its numbers beyond the means of subsistence, Nature has sufficient reserves in maintaining the balance by governing the ratio of fertility unassisted by any extraneous intervention. That Nature has not relinquished her laws of maintaining a definite relation between the maximum desirable population and the means of subsistence is illustrated in the case of Arab population in Algiers, who show both a decrease in the birth rate which could not be ascribed to any voluntary practice of contraceptive technique, and a decrease in the death rate which equally could not be ascribed to improvement in public health measures. Attempts to effect a retardation of the rate of increase by voluntary limitation of the birth rate because of the diminution of returns from the land require closer investigation, before any scientific conclusions can be formulated.

The second argument that repeated child-bearing involves misery to one section of the Indian population, and apparently justifies the wide spread practice of family limitation by artificial methods. In one of her recent papers published in India, Dr. Marie Stopes has pointed out that the apparatus required by the general masses will cost practically nothing and the means of prevention of conception are available in the poorest houses. The argument that man lives in an artificial society and that his productivity must be governed by artificial means is generally acceptable, but his bodily functions remain natural and obey simple laws of metabolism. He retains sufficient plasticity to be affected by the environment he has created for himself. It is well-known that the researches of American authors on the reproduction rates of social groups have produced evidence of a negative relationship between educational advance and fertility; further it is almost a demonstrable fact that full-time paid occupations of women are found incompatible with effective reproduction in any large community. Unhealthy crowding in slums seems to raise fertility but the rural developments which the Government of India and provincial authorities have initiated with the object of ensuring decent environment and attractive housing for the poorer classes, and the campaign against congested areas in populous towns must counteract forces conducive to high fertility among families least equipped for this responsibility.

We are not arguing against the new doctrine of family limitation. Its object is, however, gradually realised by the operation of those social phenomena which we have noticed. It is established by the American School of investigators with a fair measure of probability that education, occupation, better housing and a higher standard of life have individually the power of effecting more or less permanently

the rate of fertility. The hope of restricting the population of India seems to lie more in the rapid and energetic promotion of those social developments which must inevitably affect the fertility rate, than in the promotion of the artificial methods to which sentiment and custom are hard to be reconciled. The results in the latter case are spectacular, but those arising from the former must be progressive and slow.

IS CONGRESS A POLITICAL PARTY ?

In the pages of the current number of the *Indian Review* Mr. C. Rajagopalachar discusses the above question and says that fifty year's work of Congress gives an unerring data for answering the question in the negative.

A political party [says Mr. C. Rajagopalachar] generally tries to spread a net for the sympathy of all persons and groups other than the principal combination ranged against it. Does Congress do this ? What does its long history including its most recent campaigns show in this respect ? It has been uncompromising in its opposition to every individual or organisation that has sought to divide the nation and work for the advantage of particular communities, without regard to the power or wealth of such communities, organisations or individuals. The Congress has opposed communal organisations even of the majority community in India. Perhaps some of the bitterest opponents of the Congress to-day are the leading lights of the Hindu Sabha. Congress has similarly fought every organisation other than communal, when such organisation sought to divide the nation into groups or classes with opposing interests and aims.

Congress has fought religious orthodoxy and chosen to incur the hostility of leaders with far-reaching influence over large masses of people. It has done this in the cause of the uplift and emancipation of out-caste Hindus. Is this how a political party would act ? Detested, moneyless, powerless, in every way the Harijans could have well been ignored and their protests rightly referred to other institutions working for social reform. Congress might have kept itself within the strict bounds of a political institution and avoided the wrath of orthodox people who are really the great majority. It would have certainly done so had it been a mere political party. The little political importance that the Harijans have now acquired is itself the result of the bold steps taken by the Congress. It would be wrong to imagine that Congress thought it worth while to bid for popularity with Harijans, when its policy meant the undoubted alienation of the far more powerful orthodox leaders and communities and their mass following.....

Congress has chosen to fight not only orthodoxy, but in the pursuit of its principles has incurred the displeasure of every powerful element, which a mere political party would have waited for thorough consideration of its own power before venturing to displease. Look at the policy in regard to Swadeshi. The money, influence and power of the great importers of foreign goods have been spurned as nought in the pursuit of what Congress has deemed right. The full meaning of this choice between might and right was seen when whole bazars, groups of wealthy merchants, trade combines and communities looked upon Congress as their bitterest enemy and allied themselves with the Government and helped it in the execution of its repressive policy. The one and only thing that Congress considered was what would hinder or help the struggle for freedom and national welfare, and not who was great, or who was powerful or who was rich or would help Congress to attain power as a party.

Then, look at the uncompromising attitude of the Congress in regard to Khadi and cottage industries in general. The Congress policy in this respect is not liked by the great Swadeshi manufacturers and the capitalists that control and profit by the mills and factories, who could place any amount of money and resources at the disposal of Congress, if only it gave up its opposition to factory products. If some Indian capitalists help the Congress, it is because humanity and patriotism are forces too vital and living to be altogether killed by capitalism, and not because the factory-owners and managing-agents have any shadow of a belief that Congress would serve their interests.

Passing then to the Karachi resolution of the Congress, even a cursory examination of it would show that Congress has deliberately chosen a line in opposition to the interests of the powerful landlords, merchants and educated classes. Political parties are constantly engaged under the guise of administrative improvements in creating good jobs which they can dispose of to the highest bidders in a politically permissible sense. Who brings power to the party, he shall have a good job. But Congress has done the opposite by pledging itself to not only retrenchment but a revolutionary policy in respect of all salaries. No act of the Congress has been so unpopular with the educated middle-class and mandarin families of India as the 500-rupees-resolution about official salaries, and yet Congress has kept faithful to its own aim, *viz.*, the welfare of the masses, not minding what allies it loses or what resources it thereby denies to itself.

The Congress, in fact, is not one of many political parties. Every political party in India that works for the particular interest of this or that group, community or sub-community, looks upon the Congress as its one great opponent, and wishes it were more compromising. Congress is a "Party" opposed to all parties. Congress is the functioning of the nation-soul.

AUSTRALIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

At the close of the Fifth Congress of the International Society of Sugar-cane Technology, which met at Brisbane from the 27th August to 3rd September last the delegates who hailed from all important sugar-cane countries of the world—Hawaii, Louisiana, Porto Rico, West Indies, Cuba, United States of America, Peru, South Africa, British India, Java, and others—were taken on a tour through the various plantations and sugar factories in the Commonwealth of Australia. Narrating what the delegates saw of the local sugar industry, *Current Science* says :—

The dominant cane in cultivation in Australia to-day is *Badila* one of the original types found in New Guinea This cane has been tried in various parts of India, but it has shown its usefulness only in one locality in South India in the factory plantations at Nellikuppam.

Australia grows the sweetest cane in the world and the sugar recoveries are higher than in most other countries due chiefly to the quality of the raw material. The general trend of opinion at the Congress indicated the set of climatic conditions in Australia as the chief factor contributing to this superior quality. The Coimbatore cane—Co. 290—which is proving useful in Australia chiefly on account of its marked resistance to the diseases common in Australia, shows better juice-quality in Australia than in India.

But perhaps the greatest interest of the Australian industry to the visiting delegates lay in its being on a "white Australia" policy and the adjustments arising out of it. At present only white labour is employed in the sugar factories and plantations. The standard of living in Australia is higher than in most other countries and the white labourer in the sugar plantations in Australia is entitled by law to receive as wages 16 shillings (Australian) per day which is almost equivalent to about half a month's wage in Java and India.

This has led to a marked development in labour-saving machinery. From the time of planting—which itself is done by machinery right to the harvest, the machine does all the field operations including weeding after cultivation, application of fertilisers, etc. As to harvesting machinery, though one was demonstrated in one of the largest plantations, the mechanization of this part of the operation has not yet been a complete success.

The whole industry in Australia is run on a thoroughly planned basis, which naturally involves control at various stages either by Government or pseudo-official

bodies like the Sugar-cane Prices Board set up by statute. The area from which the factory is to derive its supplies, the wages to be paid to the labourer, the working hours for labour, the price to be paid for the cane and the rate at which sugar is to be sold in the country, are all fixed.

It was certainly most interesting to learn that whereas the price of sugar per lb in Australia was 4d, the same Australian sugar sold in the London markets fetched only 1½d. Though Australia loses about £6 to £8 (Australian) on every ton of sugar exported, ample justification for maintaining the industry is found (i) in finding employment for the Australian white population and that too at a high standard of living, (ii) in populating the rather vulnerable North Queensland, and (iii) in supplying the country with home-grown sugar.

The profits of the industry appeared to be better distributed than in most other countries and one marked feature was the fair number of factories owned by the growers themselves on a co-operative basis.

IDEAL OF POLITICAL UNITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

In an admirable exposition of the ideal of political unity in Ancient India and its evolution in relation to that of spiritual and cultural unity Sri Arabindo says in his *Defence of Indian Culture*, portions whereof are culled for publication in the *Modern Review* :

The whole basis of the Indian mind is its spiritual and inward turn, its propensity to seek the things of the spirit and the inner being first and foremost and to look at all else as secondary, dependent, to be handled and determined in the light of the higher knowledge and as an expression, a preliminary, field or aid or at least a pendent to the deeper spiritual aim,—a tendency therefore to create whatever it had to create first on the inner plane and afterwards in its other aspects. This mentality and the consequent tendency to create from within outwards being given, it was inevitable that the unity India first created for herself should be the spiritual and cultural oneness. It could not be, to begin with, a political unification effected by an external rule centralized, imposed or constructed, as was done in Rome or ancient Persia, by a conquering kingdom or the genius of a military and organizing people. . . .

It is due to this original peculiarity, to this indelible spiritual stamp, to this underlying oneness amidst all diversities that if India is not yet a single organized political nation, she still survives and is still India.

After all, the spiritual and cultural is the only enduring unity and it is by a persistent mind and spirit much more than by an enduring physical body and outward organization that the soul of a people survives. This is a truth which the positive Western mind may be unwilling to understand or concede, and yet its proofs are written across the whole history of the ages. But spiritual unity is a large and flexible thing and does not insist, like the political and external, on centralization and uniformity; rather it lives diffused in the system and permits readily a great diversity and freedom of life. Here we touch on the secret of the difficulty in the problem of unifying ancient India. It could not be done by the ordinary means of a centralized uniform imperial State crushing out all that made for free divergence, local autonomies, established communal liberties, and each time that an attempt was made in this direction, it has failed after however long a term of apparent success, and we might even say that the guardians of India's destiny wisely compelled it to fail that her inner spirit might not perish and her soul barter for an engine of temporary security the deep sources of its life. The ancient mind of India had the intuition of its need; its idea of empire was a uniting rule that respected every existing regional and communal liberty, that unnecessarily crushed out no living autonomy, that effected a synthesis of her life and not a mechanical oneness. Afterwards the conditions under which such a solution might securely have evolved and found its true means and form and basis, disappeared and there was instead an attempt to establish single administrative empire. That endeavour, dictated by the pressure of an immediate and external necessity failed to achieve a complete success in spite of its greatness and splendour. It could

not do so because it followed a trend that was not eventually compatible with the true turn of the Indian spirit. It has been seen that the underlying principle of the Indian politico-social system was a synthesis of communal autonomies, the autonomy of the village, of the town and the capital city, of the caste, family, *kula*, religious community, regional unit. The state or kingdom of confederated republic was a means of holding together and synthetising in a free and living organic system these autonomies. The imperial problem was to synthetise again these states, peoples, nations, effecting their unity but respecting their autonomy, into a larger free and living organism. A system had to be found that would maintain peace and oneness among its members, secure safety against external attack and totalise the free play and evolution, in its unity and diversity, in the uncoerced and active life of all its constituent communal and regional units, of the soul and body of Indian civilization and culture, the functioning on a grand and total scale of the Dharma.

The failure to achieve Indian unity of which the invasions and the final subjection to the foreigner were the consequence, arose therefore at once from the magnitude and from the peculiarity of the task, because the easy method of a centralized empire could not truly succeed in India, while it seemed the only device possible and was attempted again and again with a partial success that seemed for the time and a long time to justify it, but always with an eventual failure. I have suggested that the early mind of India better understood the essential character of the problem. The Vedic Rishis and their successors made it their chief work to found a spiritual basis of Indian life and to effect the spiritual and cultural unity of the many races and peoples of the peninsula. But they were not blind to the necessity of a political unification. Observing the constant tendency of the clan life of the Aryan peoples to consolidate under confederacies and hegemonies of varying proportions, *vairajya*, *samrajya*, they saw that to follow this line to its full conclusion was the right way and evolved therefore the ideal of the Chakravarti, a uniting imperial rule, uniting without destroying the autonomy of India's many kingdoms and peoples, from sea to sea. This ideal they supported, like everything else in Indian life, with a spiritual and religious sanction, set up as its outward symbol the Aswamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices, and made it the dharma of a powerful king, his royal and religious duty to attempt the fulfilment of the ideal. He was not allowed by the dharma to destroy the liberties of the peoples who came under his sway nor to dethrone or annihilate their royal houses or replace their archons by his officials and governors. His function was to establish a suzerain power possessed of sufficient military strength to preserve internal peace and to combine at need the full forces of the country. And to this elementary function came to be added the ideal of the fulfilment and maintenance under a strong uniting hand of the Indian dharma, the right functioning of the spiritual, religious, ethical and social culture of India.

There is no historical evidence that this ideal was ever successfully carried into execution, although the epic tradition speaks of several such empires preceding the Dharmarajya of Yudhishtira. At the time of Buddha and later when Chandragupta and Chanakya were building the first historic empire, the country was still covered with free kingdoms and republics and there was no united empire to meet the great raid of Alexander.

Great empires were built up under the Mauryas, the Sungas, the Kanwas, the Andhras and the Guptas, but these empires

Suffered by the inevitable haste, violence, and artificiality of its first construction to meet a pressing need, because that prevented it from being the deliberate, natural and steady evolution in the old solid Indian manner of the truth of her deepest ideal. The attempt to establish a centralized imperial monarchy brought with it not a free synthesis but a breaking down of regional autonomies. Although according to the Indian principle their institutes and customs were respected, these could not really flourish under the shadow of the imperial centralization. The free peoples of the ancient Indian world began to disappear, their broken materials serving afterwards to create the now existing Indian races.

Joint Session of the Executives

OF

the N. A. Parties of Agra and Oudh.

The Joint Session of the Executives of the National Agriculturist Parties of Agra and Oudh was held at Baradari, Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow on November 29, 1935 at 3 p. m. Among those who were present were the Hon'ble Sir Jawala P. Srivastava, Nawab Saheb of Chhatari, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Raja Saheb of Jahangirabad, Raja Mohammad Sa-adat Ali Khan of Nanpara, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Raja Yuveraj Dutt Singh of Oel, Raja Saheb Tirwa, Raja Birendra Bikram Singh of Payagpur, Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Raja Sri Ram, Kunwar Girwar Singh, Sheikh Mohammad Habibullah, Rai Bahadur Kunwar Maheshwar Deyal Seth, Rai Bahadur Pt. Shyam Behari Misra, Kunwar Lakshmi Raj Singh, Rai Bahadur Indra Narain, Rao Narsing Rao Khan Bahadur Chaudhuri Ali Akhtar, Kunwar Jagmohan Singh, Lala Hari Ram, Syed Alizaz Rasul of Sandila, Mohammad Ishaq Khan of Basti, Nawab Mohammand Sultan, Syed Mohammad Hussain, Pt. Tribhuwan Nath Awasthi, Lala Dwarka Nath, Mr. Hasan Raza, Pt. Kattyayani Dutt of Birapur, Pt. Jadadish Prashad, Maulvi Ekram Ali, Mohammad Khtasan Ali and Chaudhuri Fateh Ali

Nawab Saheb of Chatari proposing and the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf seconding, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, President of the National Agriculturist Party of the Oudh took the chair amid cheers. He thanked the members of the conference for the honour done to him in electing him President and said that the Agriculturists of Agra and Oudh should combine to promote their interests and leave aside personal interests and prejudices and forget that they were inhabitants of the provinces of Agra or Oudh. He favoured the idea of close co-operation between the two provinces and expressed his pleasure that they were meeting.

He was followed by Rai Bahadur (now Raja) Kunwar Maheswar Dayal Seth, Secretary of the Party in Oudh, who on his own behalf and on behalf of the Oudh Party heartily welcomed the members of the Agra Party to the joint session and expressed his great pleasure that both the parties were meeting together on a common platform to chalk out a common line of action. He was particularly pleased that the idea of holding the joint session, which originated from him, had been given a practical shape. He said that the party in Oudh from the beginning kept the idea of union in view. He then gave a brief history of the work done by the party in Oudh and said that in six districts of Oudh formal branches of the party had been

formed while in other districts also the spade work had been done and in a couple of month's time he hoped to complete the organization by forming branches in those districts also. He said that the party was gaining strength from day to day and following coherent organisation to carry on the work with all the zeal that the present situation demanded. He said that they had about 37,000 members of the party in Oudh and have collected about 17,000 rupees towards the funds of the party. He then announced the donations which had been made towards the funds of the party.

He said that the party was running candidates for the District Board elections in the Districts of Hardoi, Sitapur and Lakhimpur where they were meeting with great success. He explained that in every District a Central Committee with branch committees in each Tehsil and sub-branches scattered all over the districts have been formed. Several villages have been grouped together and have been placed under a Sub-Committee. They were all knit together and informed by the common directing spirit of the Central body. He said that it was very necessary that both the parties should chalk out a common line of action so as to form one party in legislature. In the end he appealed to the members present to devise means and ways for the success of both the parties so that they may be of real service to the country and the community and be able to guide the Taluqdars, Zemindars and Agriculturists of these provinces on right lines so that they might face the dangers which lay ahead.

Raja Saheb of Tirwa then followed. He thanked the party in Oudh for their kind invitation and said that they were very happy to meet the Executive of the Oudh party in the historic hall and thanked the Oudh people for their kindness. He then explained the work done by the Agriculturist Party in Agra. Sheikh Mohd. Habibullah then proposed that the formal amalgamation of both the parties was not desirable and he favoured the idea of co-operation and co-ordination. He suggested that a co-ordination committee be formed to which both the parties may elect a small number of members to co-ordinate the activities of both the parties. He said that the party in Oudh has adopted Dominion Status as its political goal and have also added five new necessary points to the aims and objects of the party which have brought the Agriculturist Party on the level of any other political party in India. He said that they were not satisfied with the new reforms though they were prepared to work it to gain the maximum benefit for the country. He said that they yielded to none in the love of their motherland or in their efforts to promote her interest. Rai Rajeshwar Bali thought that it was unnecessary to elect a small committee to co-ordinate the activities of both the parties. Some other members favoured the idea of holding joint session frequently instead of electing another small committee to co-ordinate the activities of the parties. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan thought that it would not be easily possible to hold the joint sessions of the Executives of the parties frequently and explained the various difficulties in doing so. Rai Bahadur

Kunwar Maheshwar Dayal Seth and Raja Saheb of Tirwa also spoke favouring the resolution of Sheikh Mahammad Habibullah and expressed their agreement with Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. Nawab Saheb of Chhatari was requested by the President to give his opinion on the point. Speaking at length about the aims and objects of the party he said that he wanted to make it clear that the party was formed not to oppose any other political party but to safeguard their interests. He favoured the idea of having a small co-ordinating committee and explained the line of action which the party should adopt. The Hon'ble Sir Jwala P. Srivastava also spoke. After a long discussion the following resolution was passed by the Committee :—

"In order to improve the working of the two National Agriculturist Parties of Agra and Oudh and with a view to obtain closer co-operation in the activities of the two parties it is resolved to constitute an advisory committee consisting of the President, Secretary and Treasurer of each party as ex-officio members and four other members elected by the Executive Boards of each party. One of the members of the advisory committee shall be the convener".

It was also proposed that the Co-ordinating committee when formed should draw up a programme for fighting the elections to the local legislatures and place it for approval before the Executive Committees of the respective parties.

Raja Saheb of Tirwa proposed a vote of thanks to the chair and said that they all must feel grateful to Raja Sir Rampal Singh Saheb for conducting the proceedings of the meeting in a very satisfactory manner. Rai Bahadur Kunwar Maheshwar Dayal Seth in the end thanked all the members present for their kindly taking the trouble of attending the joint session and hoped that their joint labour would produce results of lasting benefit for the success of both the parties. He invited all the members to take tea at his house. Among those who attended the party were The Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf, The Hon'ble Sir Jwala P. Srivastava, Nawab Saheb of Chhatari, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Raja Sahebs of Oel Payagpur, Jahangirabad and Tirwa, Raja Sri Ram, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Kunwar Girwar Singh, Kunwar Lakshmi Raj Singh, Sheikh Mohammad Habibullah, Rai Bahadur Indra Narain, Kunwar Guru Narain and Lala Hari Ram.

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Man's life is counted by years ; the life of a people by centuries. Man vanishes from the scene, day after day, like the waves of the sea ; civilisations pass at the points of an epoch which lasts from several hundred years to several thousand years. What is, then, a century in a country's progress towards advancement ? India, for instance, has witnessed the rise of her tea industry from a jungle plant growing wild, from a simple botanical experiment, a hundred years ago, to a mighty industry. The record is something of which we all feel proud ; but can we visualise the time when this great industry of India will have attained the utmost progress it is capable of attaining ? That obviously we cannot, but what we can see is that if the whole of India became tea-conscious within a measurable distance of time, India would attain a position second to none in the world's trade.

India, where the herb is grown, and from where a very large portion of the world's tea supply comes, consumes today actually less of the herb per head of her population than most countries of the world where nothing but Indian tea is drunk. That is something to speculate on. If every Indian drank even a pound of tea a year, there would be no need to restrict the productive powers of the industry. It would have to expand at a rate much faster than the rate it has grown through the last hundred years. The next hundred years of the Indian tea industry would then be a period of much greater advancement.

There can be no more laudable aim for the Indian people than to try and help as much as they can this national industry of theirs which has so great a future lying in front of it. The history of a hundred years' enterprise in building up this industry has but one lesson for us today, which is that we should make tea our own, in the same way as others who have learnt to appreciate the merits of Indian tea have made it part and parcel of their daily lives.

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I. K. 30.

The Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill, 1935

BY SACHIN SEN, M.A., B.L

THE Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill 1935 that has been accepted in the Council represents the constructive efforts of the Government towards the protection of creditors in as much as the Agricultural Debtors' Bill seeks to give protection to the debtor community. In an atmosphere of confused thinking the Amending Bill has been interpreted as a measure for the protection of landlords but on closer analysis it will be found that it embodies the attempt of the Government for the protection of encumbered estates in the interest of creditors, much less in the interest of the wards. Incidentally the protection of creditors will go a long way towards the saving of the encumbered wards themselves. That is after all the bye-product, if not the waste-product, of the amending Bill.

The Amending Bill enunciates the principle that the circumstances of the estates will be the primary factor guiding the relief of scheme contemplated therein whereas the original Court of Wards Act was passed to give relief to encumbered estates with due regard to their historical importance and other family contributions towards the cause of British rule in India. The Act was intended to be a relief measure thought to be doled out to those families to whom the British Administration has reasons to be grateful. Since then the Act has been amended to give scope to the play of many other factors but the present amendment bases their whole scheme of relief on economic grounds. Under the amending Bill the central idea is that if the property is insufficient to pay the liabilities of the proprietor, Government cease to take any responsible interest in it, It is further contemplated that unless the Government can satisfy their management charges, the provisions of the wards cannot be looked after. All these principles come into direct conflict with the intent of the original Act. But the sheer force of economic laws necessitates the Government to depart from the old principles. The amending Bill is based on economic laws without any regard to the influences of history, traditions and services of the estates concerned. This is a democratic approach to the protection of vested interest.

The amending Bill makes among others the following important changes :—

(i) Where any property is in charge of the Court of Wards no Civil Court shall execute any decree or order against the person or property of the ward within 4 years from the date of the commencement of the Act and for seven years thereafter if the interest due under such order or decree be paid in full every year,

(ii) When the Court of Wards decides to withdraw from the charge of any property on the ground that the property is insufficient to pay the liabilities of the proprietor, it may call a meeting of his creditors to elect not less than two trustees to administer the property.

(iii) With regard to the application of moneys received by the Manager the order of payment provided for in the existing Act is materially altered to give preference to management charges and to relegate many other important matters.

These important changes have been made in the interest of the encumbered estates and to facilitate the of the work "Court" in the administration thereof. During these days of depression moratorium on debts is considered fair even from the creditors' standpoint. If a creditor is allowed to disrupt the estates of encumbered wards, that is all to the detriment of the vast body of creditors. Accordingly the estates are given a few years to settle their affairs unhampered by Court decrees so that after the scheduled period the body of creditors may be satisfied in their entirety. This is on the part of creditors a period of waiting with a view to greater gains.

Secondly, the administration of property by trustees on withdrawal from charge by the Court of Wards is contemplated to give a second chance to hopelessly encumbered estates to struggle their way into honest liquidation of debts. This is not an attempt to wreck but to restore the encumbered estates. In all these sections it may justifiably be contended that the interests of creditors were more largely in view than those of wards. This criticism only justifies the standpoint that the amending Bill has been predominantly a measure for the protection of creditors.

Thirdly, even in arranging the order of payment the obligations of wards have to a certain extent receded in the background and other economic issues have been pushed into the forefront.

The Bill in all fronts, it may be contended, is primarily a measure for creditors.

In this connection it will not, I dare say, be out of place to point out that the landlords of Bengal have no voice in the administration of the wards' estates and as such the difficulties of the landholding community receive little appreciation. It is interesting to find that the Court of Wards in the United Provinces is a statutory body, invested with definite executive

powers and consisting of a President and nine members. Under this Act none of the members may be elected or nominated unless they pay land-revenue or under proprietary rent amounting to Rs. 15000, though the President may. There is also an advisory Committee to advise the Court of Wards administration in every district which contains estates under superintendence. The members of the Committee are ordinarily chosen from landowners of some standing.

"The Court of Wards in the United Provinces (says the Act) shall consist of :

(a) a whole-time President paid by the Court of Wards and appointed by the Governor after consulting the Court of Wards on such remuneration, if any, and such conditions of the tenure of office as the Governor may, after consulting the Court of Wards, deem fit in the case of each President, (b) three members elected by the British Indian Association, (c) three members elected by the Agra Zemindars' Association, (d) two members of the United Provinces Legislative Council elected by that Council, and (e) one member nominated by the Local Government.

Provided that no person except the President shall be elected or nominated as a member who does not pay land revenue or under-proprietary rent amounting to Rs. 1,500 or who is not in receipt of a maintenance allowance of at least Rs. 1,200 a year from the estate of a proprietor".

The United Provinces Court of Wards Amendment Act v of 1933 shows constructive statesmanship of the Government in the smooth administration of the Wards' estates and it is an excellent measure from which the Government of Bengal, if they propose to be fair, may take hints for amending their Court of Wards Act. The association of landlords with the administration of the Wards' estates is a matter of great importance both in the interest of the landholding community and of the Government. Such a provision will allay suspicions, ensure smooth administration, and remove causes of injustice.

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The Raja of Nashipur's Minute of Dissent

to Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Bill, 1935.

[*The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur signed the Report of the Select Committee on the above Bill subject to the following note of dissent. The Bill as amended by the Select Committee, has now been passed with slight modifications which leave the issues raised by the Raja Bahadur practically unaffected. On a proper reading of the amended Act it would appear to all intelligent persons that its provisions are calculated to serve the interests of the creditors even more than those of debtor-wards. In this view of the thing the Raja Bahadur's objection to the vesting of the estates in creditor-trustees and his grounds therefor, will appear specially significant. His objection to the order of payment of charges has more than a mere sentimental ground to stand upon. The Government in their anxiety to be assured of their management charges are about to do, as the Raja Bahadur has pointed out, a great public wrong by creating conditions under which wards may find it impossible to hold certain religious or customary observances or to discharge certain obligations enjoined upon them by their deceased ancestors by testament or otherwise. —Ed. L. J.*]

On principle I strongly object to the insertion of new clause 12 (ii) because the underlying object is entirely new and has been adopted in the Select Committee for the first time. It was not recognized in the Bill as presented and the Council had no occasion to express any opinion on it, nor public opinion elicited on this point by circulation. In my humble opinion the views of the public and of important associations should be called for before it may be adopted by the Council. The Council should know definitely the views of the public on this important question enunciating a new principle vitally affecting the party. If this clause be passed, it will prove ruinous to the estates. Without proper safeguards, the step of placing the management in the hands of the creditors will be like throwing the debtor's estate to the tender mercies of the creditors who will naturally care more for their dues than for the preservation of the estate.

Generally speaking, the Court of Wards takes up estates in which there is possibility of redeeming them after administering for some time. Fifteen years are the average number of years in which an encumbered estate may hope to clear off debts and such estates are generally taken up by Court. But there may be estates in which more than that period, say twenty or thirty years or more, are required to restore the normal position of solvency. What would be the fate of such an estate? Are they to be declared as hopeless or will they be placed under the administration of creditors as proposed in this section? Generally, estates are to be administered for two or three years before any scheme can be made of the probable number of years in which the debts can be cleared, and it is for this that the extension of the moratorium is proposed in this Bill.

If after administering the estate for two or three years, the Court finds that the estate is not redeemable in the course of reasonable time of fifteen years, but it will take more than fifteen years, they will then give up the administration and place it under the trusteeship of the creditors. In such cases, though the condition of the estate is not absolutely hopeless, but only requires some more time, the Court by their action deprive the debtor of the chances of redeeming it.

In the clause as drafted the expression "reasonable period" has not been defined. There is no bar to the relinquishment of an estate by the Court after two or three years' administration and the discretion of considering what "reasonable period" is, lies wholly in the Court of Wards and its proper exercise cannot be questioned. Under the circumstances, some check on its exercise should be provided in the Act.

Vesting of the estate in a body of creditors is like vesting of a property in the Official Assignee. Very few estates are restored to the proprietors after administration by the Official Assignee as the establishment and other charges, such as remuneration, etc., are so high that the estate is run through in meeting them. Thus there should be hard-and-fast rule with regard to the remuneration of trustees.

In any case, the creditors who will undertake the administration of the estate as trustees should be debarred from realizing their own dues in the first instance. The duty of trusteeship being statutorily cast on them, any non-administration or mal-administration should amount to breach of trust for which they should be liable. A clear provision to this effect should be embodied in the Bill.

In the existing Act the payment of all charges necessary for the maintenance, education and religious observances of the ward and his family has been made the first charge in Class 1, and only the "payment of such religious, charitable and other allowances. and allowances and donation befitting the position of the ward's family" has been relegated to the fifth position in Class II. There are indeed very cogent reasons for treating the maintenance, education and religious allowances of the ward as the first charge on the property. There are certain religious observances of an obligatory nature, either enjoined by the Will of the founder of the family or hallowed by tradition handed down through generations; the disturbance of such sort of religious observances will seriously wound the susceptibilities of the ward and of his family and also the public at large. So this provision of religious allowances should be placed in the same category with the allowance of wards.

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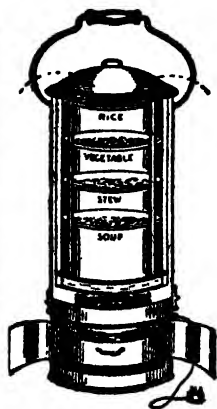
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Reviews

THE USHA—A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ART AND LITERATURE—ORGAN OF THE PUNJAB LITERARY LEAGUE.

The Punjab Literary League is to be congratulated for their enterprise in publishing such a well-bound and neatly printed quarterly Journal of great cultural interest. Although the market is already glutted with too many Journals, the Usha with its apotheosis of art and literature is sure to make headway in the long run. Its mission is laudable as much as it intends to establish a cultural fellowship among the heterogeneous races of the world. India with her sick hurry and divided aims is passing through a terrible crisis. Young men can render no greater service to their country than to quicken the preams and the visions of their countrymen, to keep even before their eyes that neither business nor politics is the life of a nation, but that there must be the quest of truth and beauty. It will really be a matter of great national pride if the Usha with its shafts of light succeed in dispelling the murky gloom of modern life. It is a common experience that Indian journals as a class are jejune in interest. They are hardly found to pep up our jaded intellectual interests. When they start they start rather promisingly but they cannot maintain their unique eminence long. We hope that such will not be the case with Usha. The issue of the Usha under review is full of variety. It has endeavoured to treat of diverse topics representing divers aspects of life. In fact it has in it not only original and imaginative pieces but also critical and topical articles. It is an interesting miscellany of art and literature which is both instructive and edifying. The price of the periodical, in the view of attractive get-up, is moderate. We commend it wholeheartedly to the reading public.



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Notes * News * Comments

New Year's Greetings

We offer our hearty New Year's greetings to all our patrons and constituents. We also extend our sincerest congratulations to those of our patrons and subscribers who have been accorded well-merited distinctions by His Majesty's Government, on the New Year's Day for their many qualities of head and heart and various services in the country's cause.

New President of the British Indian Association (Oudh)

We congratulate Raja Sir Ejaz Rasul Khan of Jehangirabad, on his election as President of the British Indian Association in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Raja Sir Rampal Singh. The circumstances connected with his election are symptomatic of a great change in the interest and outlook of zemindar community. Out of the 342 Taluqdars of Oudh, who are entitled to vote, 300 were present at Kaisarbagh Baradari and 290 of them voted. Many of them had come from long distances. Sir Jogendar Singh, for example, had come all the way from Lahore. And for the first time since the Association was founded, eight women voters exercised their right. All this is indicative of the awakening among the Zemindars and of their spirit of progress.

Agra Zemindars wait on Governor

A deputation of Agra Zemindars led by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan recently waited on His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces at Lucknow.

Other members were the Raja Saheb of Pilibhit, Rai Indra Narayan of Etah, Rai Bahadur Vaidya Nath Das of Benares, Mr. Badri Nath Kaku of Fatehpur, Rao Maharaj Singh of Etah, Kunwar Ram Singh of Aligarh, Rai Krishna Kishore Chandra of Gorakhpur, Mr. Anandswarup of Benares and Munshi Gajadhar Prasad and Hassan Siddiqui, the Honorary Secretary and Assistant Secretary of Agra Province Zemindars' Association. Mr. J. M. Clay, the Finance Member, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Home Member and Mr. A. Waugh, Revenue Secretary, were present.

It is understood that the deputation made representations regarding rent and revenue problems which have arisen in view of the approaching periodical settlement. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, who was the spokesman, placed the Zemindars' case clearly before the Governor and the discussion lasted nearly two hours.

Recommendations of Central Education Board

The Central Advisory Board of Education, which concluded its session recently, has definitely suggested a thorough overhauling of the present system. In its opinion, the most effective means of improving the situation lies in the radical reconstruction of school education in such a manner that the scheme of such education would consist of definite stages, each with a clearly defined objective, as a result of which pupils would be diverted on completion of each stage to practical occupations and to vocational institutions.

This policy of reconstruction, says an official statement issued at the end of the session, should, therefore, be one not of restricting educational facilities in any way but rather of diverting at a comparatively early age, a number of pupils who after having acquired suitable measure of general education, would be capable of receiving training of a practical and vocational type for which ample facilities should be provided.

The Board is of the opinion that a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not

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only to prepare the pupils for professional and University courses but also to enable them at the completion of the appropriate stages to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. These stages should be :—

(a) the primary stage, which should aim at providing at least a minimum general education and training and which will ensure permanent literacy; (b) the lower secondary stage, which will provide a self-contained course of general education and will constitute a suitable foundation either for higher education or for specialized practical courses. In rural areas a course of this stage should be provided which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes and be made compulsory; (c) the higher secondary stage in which would be included institutions with varying lengths of courses—(i) preparing students for admission to Universities in art and science; (ii) for training teachers in rural areas; (iii) for agricultural training; (iv) for clerical training and (v) for training in selected technical subjects which should be chosen in consultation with employers.

To work out its ideas into definite plans and into greater details, four committees have been appointed—the Women's Education Committee, the Secondary Education Committee, the Vernacular Education Committee, and the Vocational and Professional Education Committee.

The Women's Education Committee consists of Lady Grigg, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. Mackenzie, Mr. Bagvandas and the Hon. Mr. Azizul Haq. The Secondary Education Committee consists of the Hon. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Syama Prasad Mukerjee, Mr. H. F. Saunders Grieve and the Hon. Mr. Khaparde. The Vernacular Education Committee is composed of Mr. Parkinson, the Hon. Sir J. P. Srivastava, Rajkumari Amrita Kaur, Sir Radhakrishnan, the Bishop of Lahore and Sir George Anderson. The Vocational and Professional Education Committee, is composed of Sir T. B. Saprú, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Mr. Ramunni Monen, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and Mr. Syama Prasad Mukerjee.

That a thorough overhauling of our educational system is necessary we fully concede, but as we have insisted in these columns previously, the reform should consist in the opening up of new facilities and not in closing down of the existing ones. In spite of all the talk of the superfluity of University educated men in India, it can hardly be disputed that the percentage of of Indian's people who have received University education is much below that in the great civilized countries of the world. If there is so much of unemployment among the educated in India, it is not because our supply of educated men is large, but because our demand for them is very small. The proper way to meet the problem of educated unemployment in the country lies not so much in a reform of the educational system, but in increasing the demand in the country for educated workers. India is a very backward country, and there is room in every direction for organisation and improvement. Any such organisation and improvement will increase the demand for educated workers, and that is what the Government should be after. That will minister to India's progress, and at the same time absorb the educated unemployed. To take only one case, India's greatest need to-day is compulsory primary education. It is the first duty of the Government to adopt it, and if the Government does so, it will at once end the unemployment among educated persons through the demand for teachers that the new system will require. Similarly, if the Government takes really adequate steps for the modernisation of Indian agriculture,

or the industrialisation of the country, the demand for educated workers will at once increase and acuteness of the present unemployment will cease.

Broadcasting in India

We are glad to learn that Mr. Kirke head of the Technical Department of the British Broadcasting Company is shortly coming to India to advise the Government in regard to power, wave-length and sites for broadcasting stations in this country. We are also glad to learn that British Broadcasting Company is paying the expenses of Mr. Kirke, and tender our sincere thanks to it.

We feel constrained to observe that though the potentialities of broadcasting in a country like India are immense, little has been done to have them translated into reality. Broadcasting is still in its infancy in India and no serious attempt has yet been made to harness its immense possibilities to the cause of India's development. In a previous issue we pointed out how a Chinese scholar, Mr. Chang was utilising it for educative purposes. There is no less a scope for similar developments in this country. As in other countries, the radio if properly utilised, will do miracles in the direction of mass instruction in India in matters of health, sanitation, agricultural modernisation, cultural uplift and so on, apart from ministering to our people's enjoyment of life through innocent pleasure like music and songs.

There are, it is true, quite a number of difficulties which our broadcasting authorities have to face, but we do not think them to be in any way insurmountable. Radio is fast growing in popularity, and with skilful handling, the authorities can make the people thoroughly radio-minded in no distant future. There is at present a serious suspicion in the public

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mind that the Government's main object in broadcasting, especially in rural broadcasting, is propaganda, and this accounts largely for that partial apathy which Mr. Fielden, the head of Broadcasting in India, has witnessed in the people towards the radio. We hope, that as Mr. Fielden has asserted, the suspicion is entirely baseless, and the Government has got no such intention ; but we think that, in the interests of broadcasting in India, it would be better if the Government would give the people some definite assurance towards it, either by completely prohibiting all propaganda on the radio, or by giving equal opportunities to leaders of each and every party in the legislature to use the radio to broadcast their views, if the Government is allowed to broadcast its ; and above all by vesting the control of broadcasting in the country in a Board which would equally represent the Government, the University, the Press, the opposition Party in the Legislature and the High Court. We want that broadcasting in India would be run on lines similar to that of the B. B. C. in England absolutely free from all official propaganda.

Sir Daniel Hamilton on Unemployment

In a recent address to the Bengal Young Men's Zemindary Co-operative Society at the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, Sir Daniel Hamilton suggested the utilization of Zemindary estates for the solution of the problems of the middle-class unemployment, as well as of rural reconstruction. The Government of India, said Sir Daniel, has just given a crore of rupees with which to begin the work of rural reconstruction all over India ; and a good start in Bengal should be made by building a Rural Reconstruction Institute near Birnagar to carry on the work so well begun by the late Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Banerjee. The Society has a good block of land there where 40 young men may be given a training in agriculture and village industries such as weaving, soap making, etc., which require little capital ; also in the principles and practice of co-operation, so that qualified young men may be eligible for employment in the Co-operative Department when that Department begins to recruit more men as it will shortly. Another 5,000 men for that Department alone will be wanted ere long if the province is to be organized co-operatively within the next ten years, and the sooner their training begins the better. And these 5,000, by rendering the people solvent will open up the way for the employment of many thousands more as doctors and teachers.

But the most hopeful solution of the unemployment problem is to be found, says Sir Daniel, in the co-operative reorganization of the Zemindary system so far as it is breaking down.


To use his own words,

"Under the sunset law the Government of Bengal lately purchased a number of zemindaries. If Government will sell to us, on the same easy terms, one or two of these sunset properties, or such portions of them as will prove suitable for our purpose, the Bengal Young Men's Zemindary Society

will do its best to convert them into lands of the sunrise. If our experiment should succeed branch societies can be formed in every district until all Bengal is covered with zemindaries owned by groups of young men who will have proved their worth and their willingness to work for the uplifting of their country, after thorough training in the various branches of village life."

"Vernalizing" and Crop Yields

Mr. T. Lisenko, the Russian Scientist, announced before the recent Conference of the Soviet Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the result obtained by *vernalizing* a new process for seed regeneration possessing great potentialities for increasing crop yield and insuring against crop failures. The method which is applicable to all self-pollinating plants is to take the pollen from 100 to 200 plants of the same variety mixing it with a brush and then dropping the mixed pollen into the flowers after bending back the petal-scale with pincers. The seeds obtained are first moistened and then submitted to different degrees of heat before sowing. By this simple process it is possible to obtain plants better adapted to the region than their parents. *Vernalized* wheat matures 3 to 7 days earlier than untreated seed; the treated seed also sprouts earlier. 1,500,000 acres in the Kuibeshoff (Samara) Province have been planted with *vernalized* wheat and 1,000,000 acres in the Ukraine Province. In the latter province 3,000 acres were planted with *vernalized* cotton seed



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and the results were, in all cases, satisfactory—the crops developed earlier and the yields were higher as compared with untreated seed.

The All-India Kshattriya Conference

The 37th Session of the All-India Kshattriya Conference, which was held at Ranchi during the closing days of December, was celebrated with a pomp and grandeur, quite becoming India's great military caste, and the great Kshattriya chieftains, the Maharajas, the Rajas and the chiefs, from all parts of India graced the great assembly.

Oriental atmosphere pervaded the whole conference. Through the main arch the President of the 37th Session, Maharaja of Jhalwar, a charming personality accompanied by the Maharaja of Chotanagpur, Chairman of the reception Committee, was led to the dais where he sat in the middle on a velvet cushion under velvet canopy supported by four silver poles. He accepted greetings with folded hands with smile. He was surrounded by other chiefs on the dais. Below and on his front sat thousands of delegates, on the right were thousands of visitors, ladies were on left side and behind stood guards in uniform with engraved silver 'Dandas'. Arches, pandals, tents, stalls, demonstrations, decorations and music all bore oriental testimony.

Amidst great enthusiasm important and intricate social problems were discussed and ways for improvement in proper direction thought out during the session which lasted for two days.

The Water Hyacinth Bill

We welcome the introduction of the Water Hyacinth Bill into the Bengal Legislative Council, and its circulation for eliciting public opinion. Water-hyacinth is perhaps the greatest curse of rural Bengal, and along with malaria is sapping the wealth and the energy of our agriculturists. It is a happy sign that the Government has, at long last, taken the matter into their consideration, and is going to do something about it.

The plan of the whole thing is very simple. An enthusiastic district officer initiated a campaign against the water hyacinth in 1928-30 and it gave exceptionally good results; the experiment was repeated in Tippera and Faridpur in 1933-34 with even better results; it is claimed that of the some 33,000 acres of land abandoned because of the pest, some 15,000 acres were in one single year set free for cultivation.

The Bill is modelled on the lines as suggested by these experiments.

Apart from certain provisions against the importation, sale, cultivation or dumping of water-hyacinth, the principal object of the Bill is to encourage concerted voluntary effort for the eradication of the pest by providing powers to deal with those persons, who by sloth or apathy or by ill will, are not prepared to join in such concerted action. It provides no powers to compel any person to remove or destroy water-hyacinth on any land or water but his own; nor will it be invoked to penalize any person until ample notice has been given him to deal with it.

All-Bengal Music Conference :

On the last three days of December, the 29th, 30th and the 31st, the second session of the All-Bengal Music Conference was celebrated in the



Maharaja S. C. Nundy

University Institute with proper pomp and dignity. Just before the Conference, from the 22nd to the 28th of December, an All-Bengal Musical Competition was held in Albert Hall in which more than six hundred students competed.

The Conference was opened by the Maharaja of Santosh, who, in his opening speech, pointed to the pre-eminence of Indian Music, and pleaded that "Music" should, like other subjects, be given a place on the curriculum of the Calcutta University. Most of the other Universities in India, he said, have already welcomed "Music" in their midst and there is no reason why the Calcutta University should lag behind. This plea was reiterated by Mr. Girjakeshore Ghosh, a

Secretary of the Conference, in his report. We hope the University, which under its new Vice-Chancellor has shown itself so enterprising, will not allow the place made at the Conference go unheeded.

While northern India, particularly the region surrounding Agra and Lucknow, is the great home of Indian Music, Bengal's contributions to Indian music are by no means negligible. This was very clearly brought out by Maharaja Srish Chandra Nundy, who, in his speech as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, very ably traced



Mr. Girja Krishore Ghosh

the development of Bengali Music and its rise to its present pre-eminence position.

Speaking of the demonstration which formed an important part of the Conference special mention must be made of Prof. Nasiruddin Khan, Prof. Hafez Ali Khan, Pt Narayau Rao Vyas, Prof. Patwardhan,



Bhupendra Krishna Ghosh

Prof Dilip Chand Veda, Master Kumar Gandharva, Prof V. N. Thakur of Allahabad, Prof. Chundiraj Paluskar of Bombay, Paban Biswas (Dhole), Kartik Ram of Raigarh (dancer) and last but not the least Kumari Ojha, the celebrated amateur classical dancer of Allahabad. Among the noted Calcutta artistes who took part were Professors Gopeswar Banerjee, Girija Sankar Chakravarty, Waliullah Khan, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Satyankar Banerjee, Kumar Birendra Kishore Roy Chaudhury, Kumar Sachin Beb Burman, Rai Bahadur Keshab Chandra Banerjee, Mrs Maya Debi, Kumari Gitashree Das, Arati

Das and Manjulika Bhaduri Professor Nasiruddin Khan's superb vocal artistry, Prof Hafez Ali's majestic and subtle work on the Sarode, Prof. Veda's exquisite display of the intricacies of Tans and the performances of the young musical prodigy Kumar Gandharva held the audience spell-bound who evinced their appreciation of the performances by vociferously cheering the artistes concerned.

A large number of prizes, medals and cups were awarded to successful competitors and musicians and dancers who distinguished themselves at the demonstration.

Such annual Conferences as the present are an welcome feature in the life of the province in that they afford all an opportunity to listen to really good and elevating music by noted musicians and stimulate the provincial artistes to greater and still greater musical endeavours. For this years' conference the thanks of all, are principally due to S. J. Bhupendra Krishna Ghosh of Pathuriaghata and S. J. Girija Kishore Ghosh of Paikpara who spared neither labour nor money for its success. The former personally looked after the comforts of the musicians who hailed from the outside. Prof. D. R. Bhattacharjya of Allahabad, Mr. K. S. Nair who supervised the music competition, S. J. D. K. Khanna, S. J. Bikram Singh

